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RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN SWEDEN FROM THE MEMORABLE UPPSALA  
SYNOD IN FEBRUARY 1593 TO THE ISSUANCE ON OCTOBER 23  
1860 OF THE TWO ROYAL ORDINANCES PROVIDING FOR  
- GREATER RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SWEDEN

A Thesis Submitted  
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of  
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Uppsala Sweden 1912-1913

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PREFACE

It was at first my intention to give an account of the Religious Movements in Sweden from the latter part of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, but I found after a thorough study of the subject, that, considering the object of the thesis (to throw light on the subject of Religious Liberty), 1593 was the most natural date to commence. The movements during the first century of the period covered have, however, been related as briefly as possible, for not until after the English Revolution in 1688 was the cause of Religious Liberty championed by men who contended for the right of the individual in religious matters. Prior to the English Revolution all Christian nations appear by religious freedom to have understood liberty for a state or a province to decide what should be the faith of its citizens, or a recognition of certain religious sects.

It may appear to some that consistency would have demanded that at least some space should have been given to an account of the numerous witches who were either executed or suffered some other form of punishment. I do not, however, consider the witchcraft of this period a religious movement.

These explanatory remarks, I believe, are all that are



necessary, as in most instances where I have left out events of any magnitude, which may appear to demand being mentioned for consistency's sake, I have given my reasons for omitting them.

As I realize that I am dealing with what to some may be a delicate subject, I have spared no pains in order to obtain reliable authority. With the exception of a part of the unprinted sources, for which I had to go to the Government Archives in Stockholm, the sources referred to are found in the Uppsala University Library. As will be seen from the Bibliography, the sources used are all Swedish with the exception of two German, one English, and one French. The titles, however, have been translated, and, in the notes, the books and other sources are usually given with the English title; a reference to the Bibliography will, I believe, explain abbreviations where such occur.

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Introduction

A period of about two and one half centuries may appear to offer too big a subject for a Thesis of this kind; but, as the object of the thesis is to consider the various Religious Movements with the object of ascertaining what lesson the world may draw from the long struggle of many of Sweden's best citizens for liberty of conscience, I believe the subject can be fairly well covered. This being the purpose, the events chosen to mark the beginning and the end of the period, mark the most natural place to commence and the most logical place to conclude.

Leopold v. Ranke once said that, of all the glorious words spoken by Jesus Christ, none are so significant as the exhortation, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." As a reason for his opinion, he pointed out the immeasurable consequences of this doctrine, in two directions. It denied the preposterous claim of the divinity of the Roman emperors, and it showed that the conceptions hitherto maintained with reference to the relation of religion to politics were false.

But altho the founder of Christianity so plainly taught that the sphere of the church lies wholly without the sphere of the state, history has gone other ways. The Christian Church had hardly ceased her struggle for existence within the Roman state before a beginning was made to unite the two. The initiative for such a union was taken by the state, and the idea that led to such a development had sprung from the warfare against Christianity. Beginning with Decius, the emperors had exerted all their strength to destroy the Christian Church. When this undertaking failed, the idea from which it sprang, was by no means abandoned, it was only reversed. In the consideration of the state the whole Roman world should now be united by accepting the Christian religion. "My aim," said Constantine, "was on the one hand to unify all peoples' relation to the Deity, and on the other hand to give back to the enfeebled state its power and unity. Because I was of the conviction that, if I succeeded in uniting all peoples in the same worship, the fruit thereof would fall to the administration of the state." The emperors now represented the maiestas populi Romani, their power was unlimited. At the bishops' synod in Milano, Constantinus, the son of Constantine, authoritatively declared: "What I desire shall be the canon law." Within a few generations developed what is known as Imperial Papism which still exists in Russia. In the West matters developed differently, tho even here it

led to the closest union between church and state. No one who was not a member of the church could be a member of the state. The king commanded his citizens to be baptized, any one excommunicated by the church was declared outlawed, and on him who, as a heretic, was ejected by her, the state executed the death sentence. But the Middle Ages went to school under Augustine, who taught that earthly states are imperfect organizations because they lack true righteousness; but the church is a perfect organization, and the state can serve true righteousness only when it is in the service of the church and under her guidance.

Out of these ideas sprang the mediaeval conception of a highest earthly and spiritual power vested in the Roman bishop. Empowered by him the princes administered the civil law. Church and state had again merged into one another, the only difference being that the church had not been divested of the right of selfgovernment, but the state in turn had completely yielded up its autonomy to the church.

This dominion of the church over the state was contested by different rulers, and when the reformation broke out in the German states, the result was that, within what became Protestant territory, the relation between church and state, tho not identical with the state of affairs in the Byzantine church, became, however, analogous in many respects. The church as an independent, juridical organization was no

longer a reality. The state did not remain within its limits and protect the church as is its duty, but assumed the responsibility of carrying forward the work of the church. It also became the selfconstituted guardian of the faith of its citizens. In some countries a degree of religious liberty was granted, while in others dissenters were shown no mercy.

The one thing that made it possible at this juncture for the United States of America to become a guiding star to other nations in the matter of the true relation between church and state, was the fact that seeds of a new order of growth were planted in the soil of the New World in the days of settlement that followed the period of discovery. Diverse and seemingly incongruous as were the nationalities represented in the colonies,-- Dutch, French, German, Swedish, Scotch, Irish, English,-- they had all imbibed, either by experience or inheritance, something of the spirit of personal independence, and especially of religious liberty.

It may not be generally believed that the Swedes had much influence in the molding of our nation in its early history, but "Gustavus Adolphus designed his colony of Swedes for the benefit of 'all oppressed Christendom'" 1). That early Swedish settlers took an active part in politics may be judged from the fact that John Hanson, a Swede, was chosen for the first president. All United States' histories may not contain this information, but in "The Journal of Congress"

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1) Thompson's "United States as a Nation," p. 31.



for November 5, 1781, it states that on the said day John Hanson was chosen "President of the United States in Congress assembled."

After tracing the result of the union of Church and State in Sweden since the Reformation, I will in conclusion briefly make mention of the separation of Church and State within the last few years in Ireland, France, Switzerland, Wales, Scotland, and Portugal, and show how it seems to be on the verge of a dissolution in Germany, and how indications of a similar disruption are appearing in Sweden and Spain; while in the United States of America the union is constantly becoming closer. Are they progressing and we retrograding, or vice versa 1)?

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1) For this general survey see "Supplement."

Survey of Religious Movements from 1593 to 1686

The kingdom of Sweden proper has, from time immemorial, been inhabited and possessed by a people governed by laws of their own making and by constitutional kings, either of their own choosing or inheriting the throne by constitutional succession. But for the lack of one essential element, religious liberty, the poet's expression: the "Homestead of freedom on earth" might be justified.

In my opinion, the causes which led to the establishment of the laws against religious freedom in Sweden, are the following: Under the auspices of Gustavus vasa, the father of modern Sweden, at the Diet in vesterås, in the year 1527, the Swedes severed their connection with the Church of Rome, and adopted the principles of Martin Luther, thus the church of Sweden became the oldest Protestant Episcopal church in the world. The Bible was translated into the Swedish language, and every measure adopted to put the new-born Protestantism on a firm basis.

However, under the influence of his spouse, Queen Catherine, a Polish princess who was a devoted Roman Catholic, King John III became a secret convert. Against the secret machinations of the court during their reign, and the open attempts of their son Sigismund, who had also been elected king of Poland, to re-establish the dominion of the papal power, the young

protestant Church had a hard struggle to maintain itself, and since it issued from the ordeal victorious, it is reasonable to suppose that stringent measures were taken to prevent forever a recurrence of such a state of affairs.

And before we go further, it will throw additional light on our subject, to ascertain from what viewpoint the Swedish Riksdag (Diet, then composed of four Estates) and the Government regarded the matter. This can best be understood from a comparison of the Religious Edicts of 1655, 63, 67, & 71 1), and the Ecclesiastical Law of 1686. The central idea of all of these is concisely expressed in the constitutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from which I quote:

"Unity in religion and in the true divine service is the strongest foundation for a lawful, harmonious, and enduring government" 2). This being the underlying principle in all religious legislation, it is no marvel that enactments with reference to religion bear witness of the fact. Very little religious toleration can be traced in these. This is true with reference to natural-born citizens as well as to foreigners who had settled in the kingdom.

With reference to the former, apostasy from the religion

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1) These can be found in Stiernman's Collection of Edicts, Letters, and Statutes with reference to Religion, Stockholm 1744. (When no other collection is referred to, the edicts, etc., quoted have been found in this work).

2) A similar statement also occurs in the decision of the Uppsala Synod of 1593. The constitutions from 1634-1809 are found in E. Hildebrand's "The Constitutions & Charters of Sweden"

of the land was strictly forbidden. If any one was found to have apostatized, he was subject to exile, and his property to confiscation. In the religious statute of 1663 it even states that an apostate may be deprived of life 1). As a safeguard against apostasy the youth of the kingdom was denied the privilege of studying abroad, especially at universities where they might come under the influence of any of the many religious movements so prominent at this epoch of European history 2). A censorship of the press was also established.

As man has never readily, and in many instances not at the price of his own life, yielded up his sacred inalienable right "to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience," the enforcement of these laws meant persecution for many.

In 1619 three men, "Per på Hyttan i Grytenäs socken i Dalarna, Olof Skrifvare och Erik Hanson i Hörnegården i Vesterås," were tried and sentenced to death by the bishops for judaizing and disputing with others about their belief. Gustavus II Adolphus permitted this sentence to be carried out. Per på Hyttan was executed March 10, Olof's fate is

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1) This statute may also be found in a letter to the Consistory in Skara, Feb. 28, 1680. See Willskman's "Svea rikes ecclesiastike verk," I, p. 164.

2) See Rel. Edict of 1667; Ecclesiastical Law, Chap. I, Par. 6, and Diet's decision, Aug. 27, 1664, found in S's quoted work.

not stated, but Erik Hanson was pardoned 1).

The observance of a weekly day of rest has in all ages been connected with religious service. All religionists have not, however, observed the same day, and as in the so-called Christian Nations it early became a subject for legislation, untold persecutions have resulted from these laws.

The founders of the Swedish Church accepted the views contained in the Confession of the German reformers; viz., that the observance of Sunday as a day of rest for the Christian Church is not ordained by any divine command, but the church has chosen that day in order that a certain day might be set apart for religious service and rest from secular work. However, if during the busy season any one found it necessary to work in the field after attending service, he was granted the privilege 2).

After the Reformation had placed the Bible in the hands of the laity many began to question some of the tenets of the Church. As early as in Luther's time we read of the anabaptists in Germany who rejected infant baptism, and practised baptism of adults. This sect made its appearance in Stockholm in 1524. The leaders of this movement came nearly having to pay the penalty of death, but King Gustavus was

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1) Trial proceedings are found in "Nordiska saml.", Uppsala Univ. Lib. Also see Norlin's "Hist. of the Sw. Church after the Reform.", I:2, pp. 249-253, & Anjou's "Hist. of the Sw. Church", p. 354.

2) See Anjou's q. w. pp. 308, 309.



finally prevailed upon by prayers and fines to commute the sentence to banishment 1).

Another movement, quite universal in its scope, was the return to the Bible Sabbath, or observance of the seventh day, or Saturday, as a day of rest and worship. As a result of these two movements, was founded the Seventh Day Baptist denomination. This latter movement greatly perplexed Gustavus I and Charles IX as well as the four Estates of the Riksdag, especially as it grew in intensity on account of the strong demand both on the part of ecclesiastical and secular authorities for better Sabbath (Sunday) observance. This raised the question as to the validity of the Sabbath law when not applied to the definite day appointed in the commandment.

The keeping holy of Saturday was one kind of pietism of that age, and was united with sermons of penance and warnings against prevalent vice. Not alone among the laity did this movement gain favor, but some of the clergy abstained from all work on Saturday. Vestergötland, Småland, and Nerike are especially named as provinces where this occurred. In the district of Viste (Skara stift) a number of peasants had agreed among themselves to keep Saturday holy, and any one who worked on this day should pay a fine of one sheep to the church 2).

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1) "Cornelius' Textbook on Hist. of the Sw. Church," p. 184, Par. 87. 2) This shows that there was no enmity towards the church.

The church, however, took steps to surpress further spread of this practice. A pastor in Orsa, Dalecarlia, who on a Saturday in 1646, at the request of the people, held service and administered the sacraments to some older persons who were to move to their mountain dairies, was sentenced to be punished, because he thus had strengthened the people in their belief in the sacredness of the seventh day 1).

The main reason why the authorities had been linient, and for a time slow, in enforcing the laws already passed, was the fear that it would call the attention of a greater number to these matters, and frustrate all plans to suppress the different movements.

Gustavus Adolphus granted to nonconformists the privilege of residing in the kingdom and carrying on their secular business providing that they carried it on quietly, and did not endeavor to spread their doctrines nor talk against the established church. They were permitted to conduct family worship in their own homes, but not to invite any one else to these seasons of prayer, nor permit their own ministers to wait upon them 2). Exception to this rule was made in the case of foreign ambassadors, who were granted the privilege of bringing with them a clergyman who might wait upon

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1) Anjou's q. w., pp. 355-57; also Muncktell's "Vesterås stifts herdaminne", 2:304; Norlin's q. w., pp. 256, 57.

2) Eccl. Law, Chap. I, Par. 5; Charter of Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611; All Charters from 1611 to 1800 are found in E. Hildebrand's "The Constitutions and Charters of Sweden."

them and administer the sacraments. This, however, could only be done in their private chapel, and no one but the members of the household could attend 1). The ambassadors often abused this privilege, letting those of their own nationality and religion attend the services. More stringent laws were passed and those already on the statute books better enforced. A Jesuit who had resided in the house of the imperial envoy, Basserode, had, after the envoy's death, remained and carried on a propaganda, causing some to apostatize from the Lutheran Church. In 1671 he was sentenced to death, but owing to the entreaties of the Spanish minister the sentence was changed to exile 2).

A law was now passed enacting that when any one engaged a foreigner as a private tutor for his children, such a one should be carefully examined by the pastor, to ascertain whether he was sound in the faith or not. Further it was required that all children of dissenters, in order to gain citizenship, should be brought up in the Lutheran faith. The king issued a proclamation in which he urged a scrupulous observance of these requirements on the part of the clergy 3).

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1) Eccl. Law, Chap. I, Par. 4, and Edicts of aforementioned years. The sum and substance of paragraphs 4 & 5 of the Eccl. Law are also found in "Kyrko-ordningar och förslag dertill före 1686" by O. v. Fellitzen, Ser. II:2, Vol. I, and Ser. II:3, Vol. II:1,2.

2) Anjou's q. w., p. 439; Religious Intolerance & Religious Liberty by Herman Levin, p. 7.

3) Religious Statute, 1667, Par. 4; Eccl. Law, Chap. I, Par. 5. (R. S. is found in "Royal Edicts, Res., etc." 1667.)

The charter given by Charles XI in 1672 forbade any one, not of the Lutheran faith, to hold any civil office whatsoever 1).

Beginning with 1686 the Riksdag began to legislate with respect to individual denominations, granting to some privileges that were denied to others. It will therefore be necessary to deal separately with the principal movements from now on.

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1) Charter of Charles XI, 1672, Par. 2.

### The Reformed

We have now come to the time of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes in France and the persecution of the Calvinists by James II in England. This caused a great migration from these countries of many of the most industrious and skilled of its population. Some of these fugitives settled in Sweden. Conditions in France and England indicated that Protestantism was now dangerously threatened by the papacy. This led the government even in the most exclusive Lutheran countries, to adopt a more pacific policy towards the Reformed Church (Calvinists), as it was necessary that the two Protestant churches should live in amity with each other, in order to combat the common enemy.

In the case of the Reformed, the authorities in Sweden at first merely refrained from enforcing the laws against non-conformists, and later, by special edicts, privileges were granted to them. As a result, their growth in Stockholm was marvelous, even perplexing to the Consistorial Court. The consistorial report of 1688, states, "that not only 2,000 of their own attend their church on Riddarholmen, but 130 families of our own." The president of the consistory offered to lay the matter before the king 1). The king, however,

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1) Stockh. Cons. Rep., June 7 & Oct. 24, 1688.



counseled them not to strictly enforce the law in the case of the Reformed, as, in order not to give occasion for Catholic potentates to urge stringent measures against the Lutherans in their provinces, discrimination could not properly be made against or in favor of any sect in legislation, and therefore this discrimination had to be made when applying the law 1).

The king at times seemed inclined to be lenient, tho at other times, according to some authorities, he became intolerent above measure. Thus Charles XI in an edict 1695, commanded that all tradesmen of other than the Lutheran faith should leave the country within four months 2).

The government of Holland now demanded that its subjects should enjoy the same religious rights in Sweden as those of the Augsburg Confession did in Holland. A memorial to this effect was presented on March 14, 1696, by the plenipotentiary from the General States, von Heeckeren, and a resident by the name of Rumph 3). The memorial did not cause the government to take any legislative steps, but greater discrimination in favor of the Reformed was shown in the enforcement of the law. In Stockholm the Dutch were privileged

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1) Anjou's q. w., pp. 442, 43; Cons. Rep., Oct. 22, 1690; Levin's q. w., pp. 12-17.

2) Puaux's "Histoire de l'etablissement des protestants francais en Suede," Paris 1891, p. 72.

3) Found in Acts concerning the Reformed. (These and other Acts concerning religious sects are all found under the general title "Acta ecclesiastica.")

to meet for worship in the homes of the representatives from their country. A French-English Reformed Church was likewise permitted to hold her services in the chapel of the English minister. This church was under the protection of William III 1).

With reference to the Reformed, Charles XII followed in the footsteps of his father. In Sweibücken and Bremen full liberty was allowed, so that when, in 1698, French fugitives who sojourned in Holland, thru the counselor, Count Charles Bonde, asked whether they might settle somewhere within Swedish jurisdiction and enjoy religious liberty, they were told that they might settle in Bremen, but not in Sweden proper 2). In 1701 he refused to grant the request of the Reformed prisoners of war to meet for worship with those of their faith in the chapel of a foreign minister 3).

When we come to the period termed the "Age of Liberty," 1718-1772, Bishop Jesper Swedberg, the father of Emanuel Swedenborg, began to urge greater freedom for dissenters 4). The Nobility argued for the same freedom for these as the Swedes enjoyed in London, in order not to discourage craftsmen from taking up their residence in Sweden 5).

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1) Puaux's q. w., p. 78.

2) His Majesty's Communication of March 15, 1698, in Acts concerning the Reformed.

3) Levin's q. w., p. 30.

4) Eccl. Rep., Feb. 9, 1719.

5) Rep. of Nob., Feb. 4, 1719.

One of the chief exponents of the cause of liberty at this time, was the assessor of the Lower Court of Appeal, Jonas Rothof, a standard bearer in the pietist movement. He argued that none but God alone has power over a man's soul and conscience, nor can any one by force be made to accept a religion that he does not believe to be true, and if he were nominally to do so, he would be a hypocrite, which is not acceptable with God. He further quoted the words of Christ: "Whatsoever ye would that man should do to you, do ye even so to them," and as Sweden demanded for her subjects in other countries the right to meet for worship in the homes of their ambassadors, which right also was accorded to them, even in the papal countries, therefore it would be an injustice to deny the foreigners, resident in Sweden, a corresponding freedom. Moreover, the material progress of the land would be checked in that such intolerent laws discouraged foreigners from settling in Sweden. For none could be supposed to have such a propensity for temporal gain that for the worldly advantages offered by Sweden they would sacrifice their religion and freedom of conscience in the exercise of the same 1). Rothof's arguments did not, however, gain any accessions from the Ecclesiastical Estate. Bishop Swedberg was absent at the time of their consideration.

In the interests of industry another attempt in the same

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1) R's memorial may be found in the Eccl. Estate's Acts of the Riksdag, No. 40, 1720.

direction was made at this Riksdag. The Board of Trade brought in a resolution for the betterment of commerce and manufacture. They complained of a lack of competent factory hands and craftsmen. A reason for this, they said, was that the Swedish people were very little inclined towards these pursuits. As a consequence, the raw material had to be shipped out, and the finished products imported. Thus the nation had to behold "another enjoy the milk of its cow." In order that this state of affairs should not continue an attempt would have to be made to get foreign workmen to move into the country, and, to make this possible, religious liberty together with other privileges would have to be granted to them 1).

The resolution of the Board of Trade met with bitter opposition from the Ecclesiastical Estate, and consequently all attempts for religious liberty made in the Riksdag in 1719 and 1720 failed 2). The depopulation and impoverishment of the state brought on by the long period of incessant warfare, caused the Board of Trade and others to maintain an agitation aimed at bringing men and means into the country.

In certain Catholic communities in Germany, the Protestants were persecuted, and consequently they desired to leave. The Swedish envoy at Regensburg, v. Stade, made inquiries

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1) Resol. of the Board of Trade may be found in the Acts of the Eccl. Estate, No. 67, 1720.

2) Levin's q. w., pp. 44, 45.

of the Swedish chancellery as to the possibility of their obtaining freedom of worship in Sweden. The government was willing to grant this freedom, but on account of the opposition from the Ecclesiastical Estate, as well as from some of the Nobility and Peasantry, the matter failed to get the necessary support; however, the last day it was before them for consideration, the Nobility decided to grant the desired freedom to the Reformed 1).

At the same time Jonas Ahlströmer begged of His Majesty certain rights and privileges for factories that he was about to build at Alingsås, among other things he asked for religious freedom for workmen whom he intended to engage from abroad. The Board of Trade urged that the Reformed should be granted the privilege of meeting in their own homes for worship. In the Council the question brought on a long and heated discussion. One member, Josias Cederhielm, referred to the prosperity that had attended commerce and industry in countries where religious liberty had been accorded, while on the other hand countries like France and Spain had suffered because of their intolerance towards dissenters. Against the fear of a disruption because of the religious doctrines these might spread he argued that as long as the people sleep in dense darkness all is quiet, but in greater danger than when the sun riseth and all begin to stir, and

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1) Rep. of Nob., Aug. 20, 28, & Oct. 8, 14, 16, 1723; Levin's q. w., pp. 48, 49.



there appears to be general confusion, for then each one is able to care for himself 1).

The Council brought before the Board of Trade and the Chancellery a resolution to grant the Reformed workmen at Alingsås and other places the privilege of conducting religious services in their own homes, but no Lutheran was to be permitted to attend these gatherings. This resolution was made the basis of the religious liberty granted on June 22, 1724, to the Calvinists at Alingsås 2).

From Visby a petition was received in 1723, asking for freedom of worship for the Huguenots and others who had been driven from France. A promise was made that it should receive attention, but it is never again heard of 3).

The question of religious liberty came before the Riksdag again in 1731, when it was introduced by Nils Stolz from Uppsala. A time had been chosen for this when the Ecclesiastical Estate was not assembled. After considerable confusion and debate, a resolution granting freedom of worship to the Reformed and members of the English Church in one city passed the three Estates, one, however, making the reservation that the children of those who had settled there should be brought up in the Lutheran faith. Because of these different decisions and the fact that it was unduly rushed thru, it seemingly never became law 4).

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1) Rep. of Council, Jan. 28 & Feb. 11, 1724.

2) Levin's q. w., pp. 50-52. 3) Id. p. 52.

4) Id. pp. 53, 54; Rep. of Nob., June 18, 1731.

In 1741 lieutenant-colonel Sten Coyet brought before the Nobility a resolution providing, in certain cities, for a reasonable amount of religious liberty for the Reformed, such as the Lutherans enjoyed in England and Holland. His arguments were in main the same as those brought forward by former champions of this cause 1). In addition to this, Olof Håkanson argued that, if capitalists were thus induced to settle in the land, the Swedish people would get better and nearer markets.

In spite of the most determined opposition on the part of the Ecclesiastical Estate, this resolution passed all the other three Estates. The Clergy then sought to gain the desired end by a written petition to the king. They, however, received no sympathy from him; on the other hand, as a consequence of the decision of the three Estates, was issued the royal edict of August 27, 1741. This assured to the members of the Anglican and the Reformed churches freedom of worship, also the privilege of building and using their own churches in all coast cities, Karlskrona excepted. The ordinance was proclaimed abroad, both within and without the kingdom. Ministers of foreign courts were commanded to translate it into the respective languages, that people might have knowledge of it. This grant of freedom was greeted

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1) C's memorial of Aug. 12, 1741, is found in the "Sw. Eccl. Acts", XI, No. 12.

with satisfaction on the part of those concerned 1).

The Ecclesiastical Estate was, however, far from satisfied, and for many years repeatedly brought the matter up in the Riksdag, and sought to have the law repealed. They succeeded in getting the Peasantry to revoke their decision on November 13, 1742 2). The other Estates remained firm to their former decision 3). The Clergy did not give up hope of final success. They now urged that, as there were the decisions of the two Estates in addition to precedence against said resolution, and only two Estates had decided in its favor, hence the question of religious liberty ought to remain in its original state, with the statute against all dissenters. If this was refused, they threatened to publish their view of the question and have it made public. The Nobility and the Commonalty protested against such measures, and consequently the threat was never carried out. Manuscripts containing their view were, however, sent to every consistory, and a circular letter, treating the matter quite fully, was sent to the diocesan boards 4). There yet remained one possibility. They presented the whole matter before

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1) The royal edict is found in Modee's q. w., part 3, p. 1698; also in "Royal Edicts, Resol., etc." for 1741; see Rep. of Nob., Aug. 14; Eccl. Rep., Aug. 20, 22; Rep. of Peasantry, Aug. 15, 19, 20, 21, & 22; Puaux's q. w., p. 85.

2) Rep. of Peasantry, Oct. 2, 9, and Nov. 13, 1742.

3) Rep. of Nob., July 20; Rep. of Com., Aug. 5 & 8, 1743.

4) This is found in the Let. Mem. & Notes of the Eccl. Estate, 1742, 43, No. 86.

His Majesty, and urged that, if any attempt was made by non-conformists to build schools or churches, they should be prevented from carrying out such a project. This plea did not lead the government to take any action 1).

In each succeeding Riksdag it was evident that the Ecclesiastical Estate was losing, instead of gaining ground. They continued to send memorials to the other Estates. In the Riksdag of 1746-47, it was by them considered the leading question. The churches that were already being built by dissenters were probably the cause of this, as they believed that others, as for example the Moravians, who were now disturbing the peace of the clergy, would become more bold and soon demand that the same privileges should be accorded to them. A special effort was made again at the Riksdag of 1755-56, but without success. When at the Riksdag of 1765-66, one member counseled the revival of the matter, he was dissuaded from it by his colleagues, who seemingly believed that every new attempt strengthened instead of weakened the cause of liberty 2).

In the charters of preceding kings all dissenters, foreign ministers excepted, were denied the right to hold religious exercises. When Adolphus Frederick, and likewise Gustavus III, ascended the throne, the Clergy urged that the new

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1) Eccl. Rep., Sept. 13, 1743.

2) Levin's q. w., pp. 60-63; Eccl. Rep., Jan. 28 & Sept. 7, 1765.

charters should make no mention of the edict of Aug. 27, 1741 1). Their request was complied with, and in the new constitution of 1772 occurs again the oft repeated statement: "Unity in religion and in the true divine service is the strongest foundation for a lawful, harmonious, and enduring government" 2).

Now that the Reformed could build churches and conduct religious services, questions arose daily as to what was included in the accorded rights. His Majesty, the Consistory, Ecclesiastical Courts, and others in authority were kept busy answering such questions as whether other than Lutheran ministers could legally officiate at marriages, burials, baptism, confirmations, etc., and if dissenters might conduct schools for their own children. Any general decision, applicable to all cases, was not reached at this time, but each case was decided on its own merits. What seemed to preplex the clergy most was the fact that many Lutherans attended the services of the Reformed. Exile was still the fate of those who ventured to do this, but it became more and more difficult to enforce the law 3).

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1) Eccl. Rep., June 4, 1752.

2) All constitutions from 1634 to 1809 and the charters from 1611 to 1800 are found in Hildebrand's q. w.

3) Levin's q. w., p. 69.



### The Catholics

The attitude of Sweden toward the Catholics after the secret machinations of Sigismund, backed by the Papacy, to overthrow the government, reëstablish the Catholic religion in Sweden, and bring to naught the fruits of Protestantism, is best shown in the speech of Gustavus Adolphus at the Riksdag in Örebro, 1617, and in the so-called Örebro Religious Ordinance, which was passed at this Riksdag.

The king's speech from the throne lays great stress on the profound differences that split the Evangelical and the Catholic Europe into two hostile camps; it is a bitter arraignment of the Catholic reaction in every country. He speaks of Papism as idolatry, an invention of man in direct opposition to the Word of God, a system most dangerous because of one of its chief tenets: "Haereticis non est servanda fides"; of the terrors of the "holy slaughter" on St. Bartholomew's Eve; of Philip II's Spanish Armada launched against England; of the murder of don Carlos by his own father, "because he agreed with us in his religious belief" --this was generally believed by the Protestants at that time--; he inveighed against the pope and his adherents, against the Jesuits, "that diabolical party," against Sigismund, as the obedient servant of the pope and the Jesuits,

a conspirer against both religious and civil liberty in Sweden; in it all he saw signs of a Catholic Holy Alliance, which would entangle the world with its net and seek to gain domination over all 1).

This attitude reached its climax in the Religious Ordinance above referred to, which, as is the case with the king's speech from the throne, had both a political and a religious object, and was aimed at once against Sigismund, his Swedish adherents, and Catholicism. The penalty for any intercourse, --even the private, by messenger or letter, if this caused public disturbance--, with Sigismund and his house, or the Swedish emigrants, was exile or death.

Connected with this political rupture was the religious crisis. To advise a youth to attend a Jesuit college in Prussia or Livonia was a punishable offence, and the penalty inflicted on the offending father, guardian, or relative was exile and forfeiture of all property; if any one attended such a college on his own initiative, he was subject to the same punishment. Paragraph 10 of the ordinance states that, if any one fell away from the true faith to Papistry, he should never have a place of abode, or receive any inheritance, or enjoy any right or privilege within the bounds of Sweden, but with respect to all inheritance and other rights

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1) The king's "oration" is found in the Hist. of Gustavus II Adolphus by Widekindi, part I, book 7.

be considered as one dead, and thruout all Sweden be under proscription. Paragraph 11 orders all Catholics, native or foreign, to leave the country within three months. Any Swedish Catholic who was found within the kingdom after the pre-time scribed, should be punished as a traitor 1).

The first victim of the Örebro Ordinance was a student, Hammer, who had apostatized from the Lutheran faith and had acted as a messenger from Poland. He was executed only a short time after the ratification of the ordinance. Greater public attention was attracted by the trial, in 1624, of Zach. Anthelius and G. Bähr who, during their student years abroad, had become dissatisfied with the Lutheran faith, but, after their return, had managed to keep this secret until 1623, when, on their request, H. Schacht, a Jesuit, came to Sweden to begin a secret propaganda. The whole scheme was detected and the three brought before the court for trial. As Anthelius and Bähr refused to recant, they were sentenced to death and executed, while Schacht was banished. During the following years many, especially pastors, fell under suspicion and were tried. Some suffered exile, while one, N. Campanius, was sentenced to death and executed, because he had accepted the rectorship of the Enköpings school and meanwhile concealed the fact that he had doubts about some

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1) Several copies of the Örebro ordinance are found in the Royal Edicts, Resolutions, Ordinances, and Decrees, etc., 1600-19. (Westin's Collections.)

of the articles of faith, and had paid a visit to Poland 1).

That Gustavus Adolphus regarded the Örebro Ordinance as an exceptional law is shown by paragraph 12, which provides that it should remain in force only till the dispute with Sigismund and Poland was settled. Several incidents from his later life 2) give us reason to believe that, as he had freed himself of all animosity toward those of different religious beliefs, he would have purged the laws of Sweden of the dark stain that has remained longer in Sweden than in other Protestant countries.

The change in attitude on the part of the king was not shared by the Swedish government or the Riksdag, especially not by the Ecclesiastical Estate. As has already been shown, certain privileges were accorded to the Catholics during the remaining decades of the seventeenth century. In the constitution of 1680 and the charter of Charles XI, 1672, it was enacted that the ordinance of 1617 should not apply to those who, in order to gain proficiency in the profession of

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1) Anjou's q. w., pp. 164-67.

2) After his brilliant entry into Munich, Gustavus Adolphus forbade all disturbance of the Catholic religious services. He attended mass in "The Church of Our Lady" where he disputed with one of the Fathers in Latin. In Augsburg he had the court chaplain preach against restraint in matters of faith. God requires voluntary worship, and no one ought to be coerced in matters of conscience, was the sum and substance of his sermon. Thus Gustavus Adolphus showed himself when he had reached the very height of his career. His sound judgment had exacted its rights and raised him above the tumult of his early religious passions. --History of Sweden by Hildebrand, part 5, p. 271.

arms or other professions, desired to enter the service of princes or lords of other faiths, provided that these were not hostile to the government of Sweden 1). According to H. Levin, the Örebro Ordinance was, in the administration of law, cited as late as the beginning of the "Age of Liberty" 2).

In 1703 the French secretary to the legation, de Campri-dou, requested of the Council that the chaplain to the legation in Stockholm (a Catholic) should be permitted to administer the sacraments to the Catholic prisoners of war held in the city. The request was refused, the governor, practically taking the matter into his own hands, even maintaining that the secretary to the legation had no right to have his own chaplain, as this privilege was accorded only to the foreign ministers 3).

The other members of the council sustained a more liberal attitude towards dissenters than the governor, so that a petition simultaneously received from the Greek Catholics, requesting that their own priest might officiate at the dedication of their place of worship, was granted 4).

Because of favors lately bestowed upon Swedish prisoners of war in Russia, the Russian prisoners in Sweden were granted special privileges. When Russia later restricted

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1) Anjou's above mentioned work, pp. 433, 34.

2) His quoted work, p. 3.

3) Rep. of Council for Feb. 26, April 25 & Dec. 21, 1703, found in a volume containing reports from 1702-1708.

4) Petition is found in "Acts concerning the Greeks," 1703.



the freedom of the prisoners she held, Sweden refused the privileges already granted to Russian prisoners 1).

At the commencement of the "Age of Liberty" the laws against Catholics were all retained; however, in order that those of the Lutheran faith in Catholic countries might not be oppressed, they were not strictly enforced. Even a Jesuit, pater Mutzen, was permitted to officiate as chaplain to the imperial minister, Count Freytag, (this was forbidden in the Rel. Edict of 1671.) This created a perplexing situation again, as it was found that he proselytized among the Lutherans. The imperial secretary of the legation was instructed to impress the Jesuit with the gravity of his offense. If after this he continued his pernicious work, then the chancellery would take steps to hinder it 2). Mutzen continued in an underhand way to carry on his work until he was finally discharged and banished 3).

Count Freytag now secured John Ring, another Jesuit, for his chaplain. He worked as insidiously as his predecessor to gain converts to the Roman faith, and in the summer of 1732, he was ordered to leave the kingdom within a month, which he did in August of that year 4). Ring did not give

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1) See Communication of the Council, Feb. 10, 1702 and Sept. 28, 1705, also the King's Com., Oct. 31, 1705, found in Vol. II & III of "Historical Acts".

2) Rep. of Con., Sept. 19, 1722; Levin's q. w., pp. 73-5.

3) Rep. of Council, Sept. 1, 1731.

4) Rep. of Council, July 3 & 20, 1732; also Trial of R. in "Acts concerning Catholics".

up the hope of yet accomplishing something towards gaining the Northern Countries for the papacy, for which a special effort was now being put forth.

The Catholic school at Linz became an important factor in this work. Catholic ambassadors in Sweden and their chaplains would send young Swedes to be educated at this institution. Anders Brovall, who had been sent there by the French envoy, was, after the completion of his course, chosen by queen Christina, who at this time resided in Rome, as her private secretary. Brovall would seek out the Swedish people who came to Rome and endeavor to persuade them of the truth of the Catholic religion. After being knighted by the queen, he took the name Goldenblad. He sent for two brothers, who were converted and took his name. One of these, John, was chosen as rector of the Jesuit college at Linz, Austria 1).

Prior to this Ring had formed the acquaintance of J. Goldenblad. He now betook himself to this Jesuit college, and was employed by Goldenblad, who desired that Ring should go to the Northern countries and get students for the college. This he did, but under the assumed name of "Johannes Niebrod." He succeeded in getting a few young men at Alingsås. The government gained knowledge of the matter just in time to instruct the authorities at Malmö and Venersborg to be on their guard. The result was that Ring was caught on his

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1) A. Fryxell, "Extracts from Sw. Hist.," part 10, pp.287,88.

return journey. He was soon identified, tried, fined 300 dlr., or two weeks on bread and water, and banished, and if he again returned he was to be at once imprisoned for life 1).

The privilege of meeting for religious service at the homes of the foreign ministers, was assured to Catholic workmen who came from France to Stockholm in 1740, to work on the palace then under construction. The following year the government granted the privilege of building a Catholic church in Stockholm. Members of the Ecclesiastical Estate began to feel uneasy. Serenius brought in a memorial, in which, by reason of the rapid growth of Catholicism, he presented several resolutions. According to his statement there were then 1000 Catholics in Stockholm and other cities 2). He urged that the governor should see to it that no Lutherans attended service in the new built church. The resolution was seemingly never considered 3).

Catholics who resided in country places and other cities than the capital did not share the freedom here enjoyed. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1742 to secure certain rights, and on November 10, 1746, the French ambassador Lan-  
mary delivered to the king a petition signed by Catholic workmen at Swedish factories, in which they asked the privilege of sending for a chaplain to the legation of their own

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1) Levin's q. w., pp. 81-83.

2) Eccl. Rep., Aug. 26, Sept. 16, Oct. 13, 26, & Nov. 13, 1742.

3) Sw. Eccl. Acts, XI, No. 28.

faith, to administer the sacraments in their own homes. The question came up for consideration in the chancellery, and during the Riksdag at least in the Ecclesiastical Estate, but after a lengthy discussion it was decided to grant no further freedom. The petition coming thru the hands of the French ambassador, the clergy believed, pointed to the pope as being behind the whole movement. It thus strengthened them in their belief that the pope had not yet given up hope of regaining the Church of the North 1).

The clergy saw a grave danger in the common practice of committing the education of children to French ladies. They sought to have an ordinance passed providing for a fine of 200 dlr. if any one engaged a French teacher for their children. This did not have reference to native-born Swedes who had learned the French language. The nobles, who would be most affected by the said ordinance, protested. The clergy then sarcastically remarked that those who would defend such a practice, were more concerned about correct French accent than Christianity 2). The statute became a part of the sumptuary enactment of June 26, 1766.

The legislation concerning dissenters during the following century will be dealt with in connection with later movements. This, as will be seen, also applied to the Catholics

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1) Levin's q. w., pp. 92-95.

2) Cons. Rep., May 18, 1756, par. 5; Eccl. Rep., Nov. 5, 1765, June 5, 1766.

and members of the other early movements, for it applied to all nonconformists. A royal ordinance of Oct. 31, 1873, states that no monastic order shall be permitted in Sweden, nor shall any monastery or nunnery be erected. This is still a part of the law of Sweden 1).

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1) See Par. 12 of said ordinance, p. 795 of the 1910 edition of "The Law of Sweden."



Reaction against Orthodoxy

The reactionary movement against orthodoxy so wide-spread in Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century, had its representatives in Sweden. Thus Syncretism, Pietism, the Moravian movement, and lastly Deism and what was termed enlightenment made their appearance. But what to the clergy now became the most perplexing question was the rapid spread of infidelity and atheism. They saw in the other movements an aid in combating infidelity, and at times considered them an evil to be tolerated in order to conquer this greater evil.

This trend of the age had a patron in Queen Lovisa Ulrika. Just as her brother, Frederick the Great of Prussia, was an admirer of Voltaire, she had too much of a liking for the French infidelity not to promote, at least by her own example, the doctrines of Neologism. Thru her deism rapidly spread among the royal circles. The doctrines of Christianity were jestingly turned into ridicule. Dalin's so-called calotte sermons, in which, to the amusement of the queen and the court, he made the truths of Christianity and the ministers' manner of presenting the same, an object of ridicule, in that he would parody the sermons of different ministers. The spirit of the court spread rapidly to the aristocracy, and even many of the clergymen became actuated with the same

spirit. As a result the regular religious services were left unattended 1).

The matter soon became a subject for legislation. In the Riksdag of 1755-56, Archbishop H. Benzelius brought in a memorial in which he pictured in dark colors the deplorable condition of the church. He proposed some measures as a remedy. At the Riksdag of 1765-66 it again became a leading question. It was now urged that the court chaplain<sup>should</sup> be asked to render a detailed report of the condition of his church. Complaints were made against the custom of permitting individuals to have their own private clergymen. As a further step towards combating naturalism, deism, and indifference, it was urged that a more careful selection of men for the ministry should be made 2).

In the last-named Riksdag freedom of the press was introduced, the censorship was, however, retained on theological works. In spite of this the clergy were unable to prevent the book market from being flooded with atheistic literature. In order to counteract this contempt of religion, treatises written against infidelity were translated, and from pulpit

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1) Cornelius' Hist. of the Sw. Church since the Ref., II, p. 102; Malmström, B. E., Elements of the Hist. of Sw. Lit., Vol. I, p. 271; Levin's q. w., p. 121; Illustrated Hist. of Sw. Lit. by Schuck & Warburg, Vol. II, p. 44.

2) Eccl. Rep., Feb. 1, April 9, June 19, 29, July 3, 1765, & Aug. 31, 1766; these are found under No. 284 of Private Acts of Eccl. Estate for this Riksdag.

and press an intense warfare was waged 1).

Shortly after the political upheaval of 1772, Gustavus III, in a circular letter to the consistory, came forward as a champion for the cause of religion. The circular showed traces of a straining for theatrical effect, which was an all too prominent characteristic of the young king to make him a reliable supporter of the orthodox faith. The superficiality and frivolity of his court set the fashion for his kingdom. The doctrines of Christianity were soon scoffed at. "Enlightenment" came to be the solution of every problem. Thoroughness in scientific research and good manners were laughed at and considered a thing of the past. The spirit of the age seemed, more than ever, to take possession of the clergy, who by flattery and compliance sought preferment at the hands of a monarch who ruled with absolute power 2). This then was the state of religious affairs in the kingdom after centuries of endeavor to preserve harmony and unity in faith by constraint in religious matters. Compulsion had proved a failure. This consequently led to the adoption, in the Riksdag of 1778-79, of measures providing for greater religious freedom.

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1) Cornelius' Hist. of Sw. Church after the Ref., II, p 108; S. Wilskman's "Svea rikes ecclesiastique verk," II, p. 1196.

2) Cf. Cornelius' q. w., II, p. 104- and Malmström's Hist. of Sw. Lit., II, pp. 2-- , 273-- , also Levin's q. w., pp. 136-8.

### Religious Liberty for Dissenters

In the Riksdag of 1778-79 the Estates brought before the king a resolution providing greater religious freedom for nonconformists. Motions to this effect had been made both among the Nobility and the Ecclesiastics. In the latter Estate two members, dean Andrew Chydenius, a prominent author, and dean Bäckeström had each presented memorials dealing with the question. Hans Ramel had introduced the question among the Nobility.

Chydenius appears to have been the most able and ardent champion of the cause of liberty. His "Memorial concerning Religious Liberty" 1) is a powerful plea for this inalienable right. The belief that constraint in religious matters will uproot error, he held, was a thing of the past. He pointed to the flourishing condition of countries where religious liberty was granted, naming Prussia and the duchy of Toscana, etc., as examples.

Here it may also be in place to make reference to an earlier treatise on the same subject by Chydenius. In 1763 the Royal Academy of Science asked for an answer to the question: "What is the reason that such a multitude of Swedish people annually leave their native land, and what measures can be

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1) This is printed in pamphlet form, date 1779.

taken to prevent it?" A number of answers were handed in, among them one from Chydenius 1). He maintained that it might mainly be attributed to the intolerent laws then in force; for this he adduced quite conclusive proof. Their ruinous effect on industry and commerce was shown. As I have already given somewhat similar arguments from others, I will not here give those presented by him.

The main provisions of the resolution now presented by Chydenius were: All foreigners who wished to settle in Sweden and its provinces should be permitted to do so; they should be assured full freedom of conscience for themselves and their posterity; they should be privileged to meet unmolested for religious service as long as they did not in any way annoy the native congregations, if, however, they seduced any one to apostatize from the Lutheran faith, then they should be banished for life and their property confiscated; they should not be permitted to hold any official position; and if they married members of the State Church, the children should be reared in the Lutheran faith.

After long and heated discussions the resolution, with some modifications, passed the three Secular Estates. It was decided to discriminate against the Jews. They were not to be permitted to build synagogues except in Stockholm

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1) These answers are collected into one volume, intitled: "Answers to the question of the R. A. of Sci., 'What is the--'?"



and two or three other cities where they might be carefully guarded by the police. Monasteries were not to be built, nor were monks to be permitted within the kingdom. The laws against apostasy from the Lutheran faith were also retained 1).

In the Ecclesiastical Estate the resolution met with fierce opposition. Because of this the Commonalty found occasion to accuse the clergy of laziness. One speaker sarcastically remarked: "Who is there that does not know that the chief reason for the clergymen's opposition to this resolution is their love of ease. Religious liberty would make their work more difficult, in that it would require a more thorough training of the youth so as to enable them to withstand these delusions." Eventually the discussion was abruptly cut off, -- friends of the cause of liberty, as Ghydenius, the Court Chaplain v. Troil, and Dean Fant having asked leave to speak. In spite of their protests, a vote was taken, the resolution being rejected. A resolution was passed protesting against the decision of the other Estates. They further decided to publish their protest, which contained their arguments against religious liberty, and send copies of it to the public. In addition to this they besought the king that the grant of liberty might not apply to sects such as the Soci-nians, Moravians, etc., and that the laws in reference to apostasy from the Lutheran faith should be retained 2).

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1) Levin's q. w., pp. 140-46. 2) Eccl. Rep., Jan. 23, 1779.

This latter had already been provided for in the resolution, and the remaining part of their demand was refused.

On January 24 a communication containing the decision of the three Estates was sent to the king. He gave his sanction after one further limitation; viz., no books written against the Lutheran faith could be printed 1).

With this change the resolution was accepted by the Riksdag on January 26 of the same year. Thus we may consider this the date of the grant of freedom to dissenters in Sweden. Ordinances were passed in 1781 and 1782 regulating this freedom more in detail. The royal edict of August 27, 1741, gave to members of the Reformed Church the right of membership in the Riksdag. This was still continued, but to members of other churches it was denied. They could, however, take part in the election of members to the Riksdag. Public schools could not be erected by dissenters, but they might engage private teachers for their children, and thus parents could rear their children in their own faith 2).

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1) The king's reply Jan. 25 is found in "Acts of the Diet," 1779, No. 5.

2) Levin's q. w., pp. 148-49.

### The Jews

In 1685 a number of Jews had settled in Stockholm and for a time carried on their religious services undisturbed. When it became known, however, that others were planning to settle there, the king issued a proclamation that no Jews should be allowed to reside in the kingdom. Those who were already in Stockholm were given fourteen days in which to leave the country 1). The Jews were from henceforth classed with the Turks, Blackamoors, and Heathen. In the ecclesiastical law of the following year it was ordained that, when such came into the land, they should be instructed in the true religion, brought to accept Christianity, and be baptized 2).

The Jews that, as creditors of Charles XII, accompanied the king to Sweden, were granted the privilege of conducting religious exercises. This did not, however, revoke the edict of 1685, as was shown in 1722, when it was again resorted to 3). According to royal resolutions of Oct. 22, 1723, and Aug. 1, 1727, all Jews who travelled about thru the land should be imprisoned and sentenced to penal servitude.

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1) Anjou's q. w., p. 449.

2) Eccl. Law, Chap. III, Par. 10, 1686.

3) See S. Cronhjelm's Let. of Feb. 12, 1718, to Cons. in Karlskrona, found in V. Stiernman's "Collection of Royal Let., Stat., & Ord. concerning Sweden's Commerce, Polity, & Economy," Vol. 6, pp. 484, 85; and the king's Let. of Nov. 6, 1722, to the governor, found in the "State Registry."

The former of these was issued at the request of the clergy 1).

When it was expected that advantage could be derived from Jews settling in the land, then greater kindness was shown them. In 1745 two merchants brought before the government a resolution to permit two Portuguese Jew families, "for the improvement of commerce," to settle in Gothenborg. They were to bring a capital of 20 to 30 millions. Among other things they were to found the much needed herring-fisheries. The proposition was too tempting. His Majesty declared that in view of the advantages to be derived by the country the said families might settle in Gothenborg or any other place, and enjoy the same privileges as other citizens. He further declared that in the coming Riksdag he would submit to the Estates the question of permitting the said Hebrew believers the privilege of building a synagouge and having their own religious instructor. There is, however, no record of such a resolution ever being brought before the Riksdag 2).

In 1782 an ordinance was passed which granted to the Jews practically the same rights as had already been accorded to other nonconformists. The Jews, however, were permitted to settle only in the larger cities, -- Stockholm, Gothenborg, and Norrköping --, and were permitted to marry only those of their own faith 3).

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1) Modée, Vol. I, pp. 530 & 669. 2) Levin's q. w., p. 152.

3) Hildebrand's Hist. of Sweden, part 8, p. 87.

Ordinances of December 19, 1806, and August 31, 1815, forbade the Jews to settle in Sweden without a special permission from the king. On June 30, 1838, the king, Charles Jean, issued an ordinance which, in many respects, gave to the Jews born in Sweden, or naturalized, the same rights as other Swedish citizens enjoyed. Because of the great opposition, especially in the capital, which this ordinance aroused, another was issued on Sept. 21 of the same year. This provided that, without a special permission from the king, the Jews might settle only in Stockholm, Gothenborg, Norrköping, and Karlskrona 1). A proclamation on November 9, 1854, accorded them the privilege of settling in any of the cities of Sweden, and in 1860 they were given the right to settle anywhere in Sweden; the abrogation of various restrictions by later Riksdags has practically placed them on a par with other citizens 2).

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1) Hildebrand's q. w., part 9, pp. 340, 354, & 364; "Svensk författnings-samling" for 1838, No. 28 & 39, see also No. 33.

2) Hildebrand's Hist. of Sweden, part 9, Sec. Oscar I, p. 113; part 10, pp. 12 & 233.



### Pietism

Aroused to life by Philip Jacob Spener, Pietism emphasized the ethical momentum in Christianity, while orthodoxy laid all stress on dogmatics. The clergy manifested the same zeal in their attempt to quell this movement of a subjective nature within the church as they had in the warfare waged against dissenters.

From Germany this movement spread to Sweden. But even before it reached there, it became a subject for legislation. From the German provinces now belonging to Sweden, complaints were heard from the clergy, who besought the king to intervene in behalf of the Lutheran faith. On October 6, 1694, the king issued an edict in which it was commanded that those who, after being labored with, persisted with their fanaticism, should be banished from these provinces 1). The authorities in Pomerania, Bremen, Verden, and Wismar were ordered to have this edict printed and made public.

The new movement soon made its appearance in Sweden proper. Students who had imbibed the pietistic spirit in German universities, were engaged as private tutors to children in various places in Sweden, but especially in Stockholm.

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1) Edict is found in Stierman's Statutes concerning Religion.

These students would hold gatherings (conventicles) in which they met for worship and Bible study. They were soon called before the consistory to render an account. Commissioner E. Wolker was among these. He declared that his case did not come within the jurisdiction of the consistorial court. One German student, Willkomen, and two Swedish students, Kock and Brodin, admitted their participation in these meetings, but Kock declared that he could never have imagined that they would be reprimanded for meeting together for song service and prayer, when others, who met for backgamman, cardplaying, and smoking, were left unmolested. After they had been forbidden to hold any more meetings, their cases were dismissed.

The matter was soon brought to the attention of the king, who, in April, 1705, sent a communication to the archbishop, and on Sept. 20 of the same year one to the senate 1). They were instructed to guard scrupulously against the delusions of pietism. Students were to be warned against attending German universities that were contaminated with this deception, and when students returned from foreign universities, it should be ascertained where they had studied, and, before any of them were engaged as teachers, they should be thorely catechised, to find out whether they were sound in the

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1) This Com. is printed in Historical Acts, III, p. 216.

orthodox faith 1).

Altho Charles XII was engaged in incessant wars, he carefully guarded the religious interests within his domains. The communication of Sept. 30, 1705, was sent from Blonie, Poland. Another with special reference to the prohibition of pietistic books was sent to the chancellery, April 26, 1706, from his camp at Pinsk, and on June 7 of the same year a third edict, to the same effect as the first, was sent from Lusuc in Wolhynien. Dr. Fredr. Mayer, who at this time was ecclesiastical counselor in the German provinces of Sweden, is, however, thought to have been the real author of the Lusuc edict, as he was at this time staying with the king 2).

The royal edicts did not gain the approval of all the members of the clergy. Some of them were favorably impressed with this more subjective form of religion. The aforementioned Jesper Swedberg, who at this time was professor in Uppsala and a member of the theological faculty, warned his colleagues against tangling themselves in theological disputations, and causing unwarranted wranglings similar to those now carried on in Germany. If there was any need of fighting Pietism, he believed it could be done more effectually in a quiet and sympathetic way. He expressed his dis-

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1) J. A. Lindgren's Contributions to the Hist. of the Sw. Pietism; Pietism in Stockholm, 1702-21; Uppsala, 1879, p. 33; Levin's q. w., pp. 155-65.

2) Levin's q. w., pp. 166-68.

approval of the royal edicts. He seriously questioned the sincerity of Dr. Mayer 1).

During the following two decades there were numerous complaints made by clergymen against various individuals for their share in this pietistic movement. Many of these cases came up for trial. Rector Norberg relates that one person held meetings every Sunday afternoon from 4 to 8 oclock, and when the rector sought to convince him of the evil of such a course of action and how he thus transgressed the church ordinances, he replied: "We ought to obey God rather than men." When he was further threatened with punishment, he replied that he was ready to suffer death for the cause of Christ 2).

A mighty impetus was given to the cause of Pietism when, about 1720, prisoners of war returned from Russia. Their sufferings had caused them to seek comfort in religion. Thru them the movement spread thruout Sweden, even some of the clergy now lent their influence to its furtherance. The king, Charles XII, also maintained a kindlier attitude towards individuals connected with the movement. Rector Schröder, the army chaplain, relates that on one of his military expeditions against Norway, the king expressed his disapproval of a certain pastor's denunciation of Pietism,

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1) "Life and Work of Jesper Swedberg," by Tottie, H. W., II, p. 32.

2) "Rel. Intel. & Rel. Lib.," by H. Levin, p. 194.

and forbade the pastor to preach any further for him. Count Piper, who had been the king's counselor during his struggle against Pietism, was himself seized by the spirit he had sought to combat. While languishing in a Russian prison he translated the writings of Arndt and Francke 1).

On August 24, 1723, a company of men and women, among whom were lieutenant-colonel Cedersparre and auditor Breant, went by boat to Sickla where they were to stay all night, and on the following day attend service in the Nacka church. On the evening of the 24th and also on their return from church the following day, they met together for song service and worship. This was considered by the authorities as a transgression of the ordinance of 1694, as well as of an ordinance issued against "conventicles" in 1713. The case first came before the consistory in Stockholm, which laid the matter before Attorney General Fehman. He brought the matter before the king and suggested that a committee consisting of experienced men, judges, and clergymen should be appointed to try the case. His suggestion was acted upon, and from November, 1723, to April, 1725, this committee met no less than forty times. Another committee had been appointed in 1720 to try a somewhat similar case at Umeå. Both became

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1) Eccl. Rep., June 29, 1723, par. 1; Con. Rep., Nov. 7, 1722, par. 10; Lucas Schröder's "A Christian and on the Scriptures Founded Opinion about Private Gatherings," found in the Appendix of "The Report of the Sickla Committee," pp. 707-734.



very much involved 1).

The accused admitted that they had met for worship, but Cedersparre, who acted as spokesman for the Sickla company, maintained that they had transgressed no ordinance, for as Christians, "Being a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a purchased people;" they not only had the right but were under obligation to study the Scriptures and, both in private and in public, worship God. Members of the committee disagreed. Count Lagerberg held that those who lived too far from the church to attend regularly should be permitted to conduct worship and Bible studies in their own homes. Count Liewen pointed to the inconsistency in forbidding religious gatherings, especially on the Sabbath day, while they permitted people to come together in saloons and winecellars where banquets were held and not alone the day but the night as well was spent in dancing, singing, drinking, playing, and swearing, and what was worst of all, members of the clergy were found to honor these nests of sin with their presence. Tessin declared that these "conventicles" in saloons and winecellars were much more to be condemned than the "conventicles" under consideration 2).

A new ordinance, the so-called "Conventicle placard," was

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1) Levin's q. w., pp. 205-207; Report of Committee, Nov. 7, 1723, found in the Gov. Arch.; Report of Council for Nov. 12, 18, & 19, 1725.

2) E. W. Bergman's Contributions to the Hist. of the Sw. Church, Stockholm, 1873, p. 81.

issued on Jan. 12, 1726 1). According to the terms of this, parents were permitted to call together their children and servants for worship, but above and beyond this no gatherings would be tolerated. For the first transgression the leader would be fined 200 dlr., for the second 400 dlr., or two and three weeks respectively of imprisonment on water and bread. For a third offense he should suffer exile for two years. Other participants should be fined 40 marks for the first, 80 marks for the second, and 160 marks for the third offense. A slight advance towards religious freedom is thus made when compared with the ordinance of 1694, according to which any one should lose his position and be banished for life for similar offenses 2).

In the Riksdag of 1726-27, those who were inclined towards Pietism broke out into a violent storm against this edict. Some brought in memorials asking that a detailed interpretation be worked out, that they might know just where, and where not, it applied. Others offered amendments, of which one passed the Nobility, providing that, if, during family worship a visitor chanced to come, he should be permitted to remain and the worship continue. This amendment was rejected by the other Estates.

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1) Printed in v. Stiernman's q. w.

2) C. G. Malmström's Tracts concerning Hist. of the 18th Century, p. 152; Levin's q. w., pp. 212-18; Cornelius' "Textbook on Hist. of Sw. Church, pp. 285-86.

The edict was everywhere received with mixed feelings. Friends of Pietism viewed it with disfavor. It also roused opposition among members of the clergy in Stockholm. When it was ordered that the ordinance should be read in all churches on a certain Sunday, some pastors declined to do so. Some even publically preached against the ordinance 1).

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1) Consistory's Report of Feb. 23 & March 2, 1726;  
Levin's q. w., pp. 218-223.

Dippelianism and the Skevikians

Among the most ardent combatants in the battle between orthodoxy and the more subjective form of religion, was John Conrad Dippel, -- his pen-name being Christianus Democritus. At first he placed himself on the side of orthodoxy, but soon turned squarely about. His reputation as Alchemist gained for him many patrons and brought him to Berlin. Here, because of his reply to a work written against Pietism by the aforementioned Dr. Mayer and his opposition to the edict of Charles XII against Pietism, Dippel was arrested. He was let out on bail, and when at the request of the Swedish ambassador and minister, an order was again given to commit him to prison, he had fled. He is next heard of in Denmark, where he was imprisoned because of his accusations against the Stadtholder in Altona and Count Reventlow and his countess. But on the intercession of the queen he was set free in 1726, on the condition that he should leave the land and never again appear in Denmark.

From Denmark he crossed over to Sweden. The Ecclesiastical Estate immediately besought the king that Dippel should be ordered to leave the country. The king consented, but because of the intervention of the other Estates the matter was left to rest until further action by the Riksdag. Dippel remained

in the southern part of Sweden until the middle of January, 1727, when he made his appearance in Stockholm. His case was again considered by the Ecclesiastical Estate, who, in order that his teaching might not attract the attention of the public, thought it expedient to proceed slowly and carefully. The following autumn, however, the Riksdag decided that he must without delay depart thence. On December 5 he left for Southern Sweden where he remained until the following March, when he went back to Germany 1).

The expulsion of Dippel did not relieve the clergy from all anxiety. Many had accepted his views, and his writings were eagerly read by these as well as others. These writings were now branded as heretical, and people were warned against reading them.

A clergyman, Eric Tollstadius by name, was suspected of entertaining Dippel's views, and consequently he was called before the Consistory on May 22, 1728. The trial continued the entire summer and autumn. On November 20 Tollstadius declared his renunciation of Dippel's views. The court, however, remained suspicious as to the sincerity of his confession, and in its report to the king on December 13, it was urged that he should be discharged from his position as pastor.

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1) Dr. Karl Henning's "Dippel's Sojourn in Sweden," pp. 21-48; Cornelius' q. w., pp. 287-290; W. Bender's "Johann Konrad Dippel," Chap. V.



The Consistorial Court's report together with the testimonies of numerous witnesses against Tollstadius, led the government to appoint a committee of nine, five laymen, and four clergymen, to investigate this and other similar cases. The committee continued their work until May 22, 1731, during which time about one hundred persons were called either as witnesses or as offenders. With reference to Tollstadius' case the members of the committee disagreed. A majority were for some form of punishment, yet it was finally decided to acquit him. One of the accused, Eric Molin, was sentenced to banishment. Others were cast into prison where they were cruelly treated.

Stockholm, however, was not the only place where this movement challenged the attention of the authorities. Complaints were soon heard from Karlskrona and Scania. In Lund two students, Leopold and Stendahl, were in 1728 indicted before the Academic Consistory. Both were sentenced to imprisonment. In 1741 Stendahl was banished, while Leopold was left to languish in a prison cell for forty-two years, when death ended his sufferings 1).

A similar movement was rapidly spreading in Finland, and on May 4, 1733, two brothers, Jacob and Eric Ericsson, were sentenced by the Åbo court to be banished from the land.

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1) Dr. Karl Henning's "Dippel's Sojourn in Sweden," pp. 49-99; Cornelius' last q. w., pp. 290-94; Levin's q. w., pp. 237-52.

The decision was submitted to the king. Meanwhile the Ericssons had moved to Stockholm. An endeavor was made to get them to renounce their views, and when this proved unsuccessful, the king confirmed the sentence of the Åbo court. Together with other friends they left in the summer of 1734, and, as fugitives, roved about from land to land until 1745, when they returned to Stockholm and shortly afterwards settled on a large estate in Vermdön called Skevik. They were from this time on known as Skevikians 1).

In spite of, or probably by reason of, the stringent measures adopted against the Dippelianism, the movement became more intense and extensive. In the Riksdag of 1734 Bishop Kalsenius reported to the Ecclesiastical Estate, that almost nine out of every ten houses in Stockholm were affected by the contagion. A memorial was drawn up by Bishop Jacob Benzelius and others, showing the gravity of the danger threatening the church. A deputation was sent to the other Estates with this Memorial. The Commonalty and Peasantry were ready to aid the clergy in passing a new religious ordinance; but when the memorial came to the Nobility, it called forth a protest from Count Strokirch, in the form of a memorial, in which he severely criticised the clergy for their intolerant spirit. He argued that in civil matters alone can a

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1) "Religious Movements in Sweden and Finland since 1730," by Dr. Karl Henning, Chapters I-IV.

government prescribe by law for its subjects; in religious matters the overseers must admonish and persuade 1).

The proceedings of the Riksdag resulted in an ordinance which was adopted on March 20, 1735. This mainly urged the enforcing of laws already on the statute books. The new ordinance did not pass, however, without considerable opposition. In the Commonalty, Mayor Gabriel Thauwoni<sup>us</sup> of Umeå presented a memorial in which he pointed out how, according to the teachings of Christ and his apostles, deception must be overcome by "teaching, reproving, rebuking, exhorting with all longsuffering and doctrine, with the word of God, which for the purpose is the only proper tweedged sword." He did not claim that this would prevent all delusion, but suggested that where it failed, the Saviour's words be followed, --"to let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harvest" 2).

The following year many suspected persons were called before the Consistorial Court. Some were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and one, Rosen, was in 1741 sentenced to immediate banishment. The severity resorted to in these cases called forth in the Riksdag, 1740-41, numerous memorials protesting against the ordinance of 1735 3).

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1) S's Memorial is found under No. 14 in Eccl. Let., Mem., and Notes from the Riksdag 1734.

2) T's Memorial is found under "Acts of the Com." II, No. 220.

3) Dr. Karl Henning's "Dippel's Sojourn in Sweden," Chap. VII; Levin's q. w., pp. 252-69.

### The Moravians

The United Brethren, or the Moravian, movement, like Pietism, had its origin in Germany. Its founder, Count Zinzendorf, early directed his attention upon the conversion of the Northern countries. He first visited Copenhagen in 1731, where he was cordially received by the king. On his second visit, in 1735, he was, however, given a less warm reception, and consequently crossed over to Sweden.

The Swedish government, thru its envoy in Copenhagen, was informed that Zinzendorf had crossed the channel from Copenhagen to Scania. The news were received by the king and the council with consternation. The authorities in the provinces of Malmöhus and Kristianstad were instructed to order him at once to leave the country. Before receiving information of this, Zinzendorf had left, however, for Herrnhut where, by letter from a friend in Malmö, he was informed of the vigorous measures adopted against him in Sweden 1).

This led Zinzendorf to send King Frederick, in the form of a letter, an apology for the confession of his church. He stated that the Swedish government had shown unwarranted

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1) Neander, "A Contribution to the Hist. of Sw. Moravian Church up to 1750," Uppsala 1883, Chap. III.

apprehensions, as his church had adopted the Augsburg Confession in nearly every particular. But in spite of this, mainly because of complaints sent in from Pomerania, an ordinance was adopted November 23, 1740, forbidding Moravians to reside in the German provinces that were dependencies of Sweden.

Altho Zinzendorf was never again permitted to visit Sweden, he did not give up all hope of founding a Moravian organization in that country. A convenient opportunity was offered when a young Swede, Arvid Gradin, who, during his student years at Uppsala, had been engaged as a private tutor in the house of Baron Cederström, and now accompanied him on his travels, which at this time were extended to Herrnhut. As Gradin was naturally religiously inclined, he was soon won for the cause of the United Brethren. In company with a German fellow-believer he returned to his native land in the fall of 1741 for the double purpose of visiting relatives and friends, and that the two as Moravian emissaries, might impart to the church authorities reliable information concerning the faith and polity of the United Brethren.

Gradin succeeded in getting the permission of the Consistorial Court in Stockholm to preach, both in the churches and in private houses. He soon gained the confidence and good-will of many of the leading men of the community, as well as of the younger members of the clergy. However, he



soon left his native land, but a ball had been started rolling, which was not to be easily stopped on its onward course.

The clergy soon became alarmed at the rapid progress of the new movement, and complaints were sent in from different quarters. In the Riksdag of 1748 the Ecclesiastical Estate laid on Rector Eric Beckman the solemn responsibility of publishing a tract against Moravianism. Beckman had a tract, written by the German theologian Cyprian, translated. An introduction was added by the rector, in which he passionately attacked Zinzendorf and the United Brethren. Besides this, the archbishop sent a communication to the king, requesting His Majesty to issue a proclamation urging the clergy to do their duty in combating this deception, first by thoroughly instructing their members, and where this failed, to see to it, that they were indicted before the Consistorial Court and that the law against heresy was strictly enforced. The king complied with the wish of the archbishop 1).

In the fall of 1748 Gradin again made his appearance in Sweden. At first he was accorded a seemingly friendly reception, but a written reply to Rector Beckman's accusations against the United Brethren seems to have been the immediate cause of his indictment before the Consistorial Court. The

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1) Archbishop H. Benzelius' Let. to His Majesty, on Oct. 12, 1748, is printed in *Acta historico-ecclesiastica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 613-21; the Let. sent by the king to the consistories in compliance with the archbishop's request, is printed in the same volume, pp. 670-73, it is dated Dec. 15, 1748.

trial commenced in February, 1749, and continued for several months. Simultaneously with this trial, another Swedish Moravian minister, Peter Werwing, was brought before the court. Neither of the accused sought to make any secret of their connection with the Moravian Church.

Both cases were referred to the king by the consistory on June 20, 1749, with a report of the trial and an urgent request that Gradin and Werwing should be ordered to leave the country. On Jan. 12, 1750, the council adopted a resolution expelling Gradin from the kingdom. Two weeks later he was sent away in close custody 1).

Because of the disquieting information concerning the rapid spread of this movement, Adolphus Frederick, upon ascending the throne, demanded of the archbishop a report of the condition of the church and of the spreading heresies, and further asked his advice as to what measures ought to be adopted in order to relieve the church of this vexation. After the archbishop had complied with this request most drastic measures were adopted in order to check the onward progress of Moravianism. All schools were to be scrupulously guarded against the contagion. The censorship of theological works was no longer to be intrusted to one clergyman,

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1) Con's. "Let. to His Majesty," look under "Rel. Suit, Morav." for above date; before the trial commenced, Gradin gave, in a form of a letter, an epitome of the tenets of his church; this with several other letters from him, as well as some written by his opposers, are printed in "Acta historica-ecclesiastica," vol. XIV, pp. 621-70.

but to the respective consistories. The ordinances against "conventicles" should be enforced to the letter, and no one was to be allowed to give financial support to Moravian missionaries.

The fierce opposition against the new movement apparently fanned the smoldering embers into unconquerable flames. Many of the clergymen were suspected of leanings toward the views of Zinzendorf. One of these, Rutström, suffered exile in 1765, others were suspended from their pastorates. Lars Nyberg, upon accepting the new faith, went with a Moravian minister to America, and after some time the two returned to labor in Sweden. The Consistory was warned of their coming by a Lutheran clergyman<sup>who was then in London</sup>, whereupon the Consistory caused the king to issue an order for their imprisonment as soon as they set foot on Swedish soil. The two men being informed of this order remained for some time in London.

From about 1760 the ecclesiastical authorities assumed a more friendly attitude towards the Moravians. This can only be explained on the supposition that they saw in this movement a powerful ally in the fight against the rapidly increasing infidelity and rationalism (neology). In the Riksdag of 1765-66 one member of the Ecclesiastical Estate even ventured to speak in defence of Moravian books 1).

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1) Cornelius" last q. w., pp. 294-98; Levin's q. w., pp. 270-89; Neander's q. w., pp. 37-74.

### Swedenborgianism

At about this time there appeared on the stage a movement which was destined not only to offer a perplexing problem to the ecclesiastical authorities, but also to challenge the attention of the literary schools and set on foot a regular "paper war." The founder of this movement was one of Sweden's own sons, Emanuel Swedenborg, the eldest son of the above mentioned renowned Bishop Jesper Swedberg.

Emanuel was born in 1688, and ere now had become famous by reason of his work in the domain of the natural sciences. Not until he had reached a ripe age did he appear as a founder of a religious organization. He dated the origin of his "New Church" from the publication in 1770 of his "Vera Christiania Religio" which was one among a great many theological writings in which he set forth his religious views, which may be said to have been a form of what at present bears the label "Spiritualism." I will make no endeavor to give an account of his teachings, as it would not come within the scope of this thesis, and besides, his writings are so mystic and incoherent, that the celebrated Kellgren was quite right in his criticism, when he said that the grammatical confusion is so inseparably united with the logical, the obscurity of the words with that of the meaning, that

two consecutive phrases show no more relation to each other than if they were separated by a hundred pages.

It was not until shortly before the death of Swedenborg, in 1772, that his teachings aroused any particular attention in Sweden. In Gothenborg two theological doctors and gymnasium lecturers, Gabriel Beyer and John Rosen, had imbibed some of the mysteries of Swedenborgianism. In 1766 Beyer, with the aid of his colleague at the gymnasium, J. Gothenius, undertook to publish a book of sermons, in which the Scriptural texts were explained according to the Swedenborgian exegesis. As all three of these men were members of the Consistory it was a matter of extreme difficulty to get at the matter. The bishop and the deans, as highest authorities, were asked to inform the clergy if there was in reality anything bad about the writings of Swedenborg.

The impetuous dean, Olof Ekebon, then came forward and declared the Swedenborgian views to be seductive, heretical, criminal, and in the highest degree condemnable. This caused a rupture in the Consistory, as its members failed to agree with reference to this pronouncement. The matter was finally referred to the king.

In the royal resolution of Jan. 2, 1770, the Consistory in Gothenborg was in the first place reprimanded for not reporting the matter to the government at once. The Consistory was further commanded to bring in an immediate report of all



that had transpired, and state its opinion concerning the tenets of Swedenborgianism. As to the latter point, the members of the Consistory could come to no agreement, a majority, however, sided with Dean Ekebon. Beyer and Rosen now came forward and boldly defended the writings of Swedenborg. They, however, stated their willingness to keep these views entirely to themselves and not to advocate them in their courses of lectures.

The government was not satisfied with this declaration, but put forth every effort to get them to fully renounce the new ism. Another royal resolution was sent to the Consistory in Gothenborg on April 20, 1770, in which Swedenborg's writings were declared to be heretical and therefore banned. An order was further given by the government to the chancellery to guard most carefully against the importation of theological books which Swedenborg had had printed in foreign countries.

In the diocese of Skara a number of the younger members of the clergy were found to lean strongly towards the new cult. This called forth from the Consistory a circular letter to all clergymen, urging them to do all in their power to combat this heresy.

In the summer of 1770, Swedenborg left for London. He realized that he could count on no further aid from the king, and consequently intended to plead his case before the

Riksdag the following year, but for some reason abandoned the matter. The movement continued to grow in Sweden, but for the same reason that the clergy became somewhat reconciled to the Moravian movement, they now gradually ceased their vigorous fight against Swedenborgianism.

In 1787 the adherents of this movement organized the "Societas exegetica pro philanthropia" and in 1796 the society "Pro fide et caritate," both for the purpose of circulating the writings of Swedenborg. As late as 1820 the latter of these had a large membership both in Stockholm and in many country towns.

Thruout the world the movement is at present best known by the name: "The New Jerusalem Church." In Sweden, as in many other countries, a disagreement concerning the methods of work, the church polity, and as to whether or not the writings of Swedenborg are divinely inspired has caused a schism. In Stockholm this has led to the organization of two separate churches.1).

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1) R. Sundelin's "Hist. of Swedenborgianism in Sweden during the last century," Uppeala 1886; Cornelius' last q. w. pp. 299-307; Levin's q. w., pp. 290-310; Fryxell's q. w., Chap. 6.

### Laestadianism

The work of Lars Levi Laestadius requires only to be briefly mentioned. He, no doubt, has done more than any one else for the civilization and Christianizing of the Laplanders, but as the opposition to his work sprang more from the savage people among whom he labored, than from the government, it has only a slight bearing on the subject of Religious Liberty.

Laestadius was born on Jan. 10, 1800. The extreme poverty of his parents, and his consequent mode of life, peculiarly adapted him for his difficult mission. In spite of poverty he made his way thru the gymnasium, after which he specialized in Botany at the University of Uppsala. His intense interest in the flora of his native land caused him to make extensive travels. The passion for discovering hitherto unknown plants, urged him on even thru the gloomy wastes of Lapland. At this time, on the suggestion of others, he suddenly decided to study theology, and after a successful examination was ordained in 1825.

The first year after his ordination Laestadius served in his home parish, after which he was transferred to a parish in Lapland, about two hundred and sixty miles north of Torneå, where the night lasts for one and a half months

without a break. Besides performing his clerical work he employed some of his time in a further study of plants. In 1836 he was appointed a member of the Edinburgh Society for Natural Research, and in 1838, after accompanying a French Scientific expedition, he received a mark of honor and distinction from France. The following year he was invited to become a member of the Uppsala Society of Science.

In 1839 death entered the home of Laestadius and carried off his son Levi. This occasioned deep religious meditation on the part of the father. According to his own testimony he did not experience a real conversion until after this sad bereavement. From now on his sermons grew powerful, and attracted the attention of the Laplanders. Some accepted his message readily, while others opposed him most fiercely. At different times mobs gathered around the house of worship and threatened to kill both him and those who had identified themselves with him; Laestadius, however, always managed to escape his persecutors, but some of his followers were beaten to death. The greatest burden of this undaunted Reformer had been, even ere this, to rescue these depraved people from the clutches of the drink habit. At first his work seemed fruitless, but in 1842 he succeeded in getting the first man to sign the temperance pledge. In 1844 a temperance society was organized, the first one in Northern Scandinavia. The man who owned the largest liquor house soon emptied his

liquor in the river and became the most ardent temperance advocate, and the result thruout those districts were marvelous.

By the movement known as Laestadianism, we must, however, understand the organization brought about as a result of the tenets in which its founder differed from the Orthodox Church. In a large work he has set forth his philosophical and religious views. In his treatise on the soul he presented a view which called forth opposition from the State Church. He held, -- and gave fairly conclusive evidence for his views, -- that the soul does not exist outside of and without the body. Besides this he differed from Orthodoxy in a few minor points 1).

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1) Bergroth, Elis, "Our Dissenters," Chap. I; Cornelius' q. w., pp. 340-41.



### Methodism

Even during the lifetime of John Wesley the influence of Methodism was felt in Sweden, but as the pioneers in this movement made common cause with Pietism, and made no endeavor to found a new Church, very little of the work of the Methodist Church in Sweden comes within the period with which this paper is concerned.

While acting as pastor of a Swedish Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, Dr. C. G. Wrangel came into contact with Thomas Webb, who had been converted under the labors of Wesley. Shortly after this Dr. Wrangel returned to Sweden, and on his way stayed for some time in England, where he visited John Wesley and urged him to send ministers to America. On the suggestion of Wesley, Dr. Wrangel, after reaching Stockholm, was instrumental in organizing the society known as Pro fide et christianismo of which even Wesley became a member.

Soon after his arrival in Sweden in 1768, Dr. Wrangel was appointed chief court chaplain to king Adolphus Frederick, who showed the utmost confidence in him, even calling him to his death-bed as his private counselor. Even during the time he was officiating at court, Dr. Wrangel followed the revival methods of the Wesleys, preaching, as he says, in

nearly all the churches of Stockholm, and at times under the open sky. Altho, in this way, the influence of Methodism early made itself felt in Sweden, it was not until fifty years later that the first Methodist minister was sent there. In 1804 Samuel Owen, an engineer employed in a works in Leeds, came to Stockholm to set up some engines, bought from his works. He returned to Stockholm again in 1806 for the same purpose, and was now employed as foreman in a foundry, where he remained three years, after which he was urged by several Swedes to establish an iron-foundry and an engine-shop in a building on Kungsholmen. These industries grew rapidly, and, as he was unable to get a sufficient number of skilled men in Sweden for his work, he engaged a number from England.

Owen, who had been converted by the Methodists in England, had joined this church, as also did many of these workmen. They now requested of the Wesleyan Missionary Society that a minister should be sent them. The Missionary Society complied with their request, and in 1826 Joseph R. Stephens arrived in Stockholm. He soon returned, however, and was succeeded in 1830 by the twenty-six year old George Scott, who had been ordained the same year.

Under the leadership of Scott the Cause of Methodism gained a firm foothold in Stockholm. In 1838 the government granted a petition for permission to erect a Methodist church in the capital. The archbishop besought the government that the

petition<sup>should</sup> be granted only on the condition that the services should be restricted to the English language. In spite of this it was granted unconditionally. The church was dedicated on October 24, 1840.

The friendly attitude taken up towards Scott soon changed into bitter opposition. The immediate cause for this was attributed to the unfavorable report Scott had given of the religious state of affairs in Sweden when, in 1841, he visited the United States in the interest of the work begun in Stockholm. On his return when he purposed to continue services in the recently built church, the wounded national pride of the patriotic Swedish people sought to avenge the wrong which it felt it had suffered. In one of the theaters a play of three Acts called the "Jesuit" was given, where amidst the ringing cheers of the spectators a distorted picture of Scott was exhibited.

During the service in the Methodist church one Sunday afternoon a mob rushed in and, with shrieks and throwing of stones, forced Scott to discontinue his sermon. A few days later he had to leave for England in all secrecy. The work he had commenced could not, however, so easily be brought to naught. He had started a temperance movement, and he had set going a movement for the distribution of Bibles to which both the American and the British Bible Societies have given their support. The first religious periodical in Sweden was

started by Scott; as a result of the work commenced by him, was also founded the "Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen." And when seventeen years later he again visited Stockholm, he was accorded a friendly reception.

In Gothenborg the Cause of Methodism suffered much opposition. The mob-spirit was quite prevalent, but, besides this, the authorities sought to enforce to the letter every existing statute against religious gatherings. In their zeal to guard against religious dissension the clergy often placed themselves in an embarrassing situation. The following incident, related by Elder Witting in his "Stilla Stunder," borders on the laughable. The pastor of a church not far from Gothenborg was in the habit each Sunday of warning his congregation against Methodism, and even threatening with fines and exile those who opened their houses for religious gatherings or attended such meetings. In order more emphatically to scare those who attended Methodist meetings he at one time sent a civil officer to the place of meeting to read a royal ordinance in which religious gatherings were forbidden. On the entrance of the officer a deep silence fell on the room, and with all the dignity of his office, he commenced to read the document; but to his embarrassment nothing of the nature expected was contained in the ordinance. He paused and then continued to read, thinking it might yet follow; the reading was finished, but nothing had as yet been found relating to the case

in hand. Indignant and chagrined the venerable gentleman sat down. The fact was that in his great haste, the pastor had got hold of the wrong paper, and the royal proclamation which had been read was an ordinance forbidding midwives to practise outside their own district. As soon as the laughter had abated, the Methodist minister calmly said that as neither he nor his wife carried on this vocation, the ordinance did not concern them, and therefore the service would continue 1).

Since the edict of 1860 the fierce opposition against this movement has gradually abated, and the Methodists have apparently won more adherents than any other of the so-called "Dissenting Evangelical Movements," with the exception of the Baptists and a movement, now known as the "Missionary Alliance," which may in a sense be considered an offshoot of Methodism, as its founder, Karl Olof Rosenius, was for a time a co-laborer of Scott. At his death, in 1868, Rosenius was succeeded by the renowned Dr. P. P. Waldenström, who in late years has so ably led an agitation aiming at a separation of church and state.

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1) "Methodism in Sweden" by J. M. Erikson, Chapters I, II, & XII; Cornelius last q. w., pp. 351-53; Bergroth's "Our Dissenters," Chap. II.



### The Baptists

The history of the pioneer missionaries of the Baptist Church, reads very much the same in the records of all the Northern European countries. Persecution has almost invariably been their lot. Reference has been made to the anabaptists in Germany in the time of Luther, and to their early appearance in Sweden, where the leaders of the movement were sentenced to death.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a similar movement again appeared in Sweden. It was stifled, however, in its infancy by the stringent measures adopted against it by the government. Among the royal letters is found one to the Consistory dated June 7, 1733, in which His Majesty commands that, if N. N. refuses to have his little child christened, it shall be taken by force from its home and carried to the pastor who shall christen it. Another letter of January 24, 1740, contains the same instruction with reference to the child of the young nobleman Jacob Gripenstedt who, because of his lack of faith in infant baptism, also lost the large estate of Gräfsnäs 1).

In England, which may be considered the country where the present day Baptist Church originated, they were at first

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1) Ekman's "History of the Inland Mission," pp. 227, 28.

rigorously persecuted. In 1535 Henry VIII ordered the execution of fourteen Dutchmen because they had rejected infant baptism and been rebaptized. In 1539 thirty persons suffered exile for the same cause. In spite of this we read of the organization of Baptist churches as early as in 1611. At this time the work was carried on under the leadership of an English minister, John Smith by name.

One of the most noted pioneers in this movement was the renowned John Bunyan, who, for his faith, languished in a prison cell for twelve years, from 1660 to 1672, during which time he wrote "Pilgrim's Progress."

Simultaneously with the rise of the Baptists in England, the sect also gained a foothold in America. The great apostle here was Roger Williams, whose motto was "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Dissenters who had left their mother country because of persecution, had not fully learned the true principles of religious liberty, but continued to persecute those who, in turn, differed from them in faith and practice. Williams resisted this scheme, and consequently was banished from the colony. After he had passed through untold sufferings among the Indians, the cause of liberty triumphed by the erection, at Providence, R. I., in the year 1636, of the first free commonwealth in the new world, wherein all men were declared to be "free and equal." This was the beginning of a "New Order of Things,"

as it was in reality the first commonwealth where real religious liberty was granted to all alike.

From England and America the Baptist movement reached out to the mainland of Europe. The first church was organized in Hamburg in 1834 by the Englishman Oneken. By way of Hamburg and Copenhagen, the movement spread to Sweden. A Dutch seaman, Frederick Olof Nilsson, who had been converted in America, was rebaptized in Hamburg in 1847, and then came to his native home, Gothenborg. Here the first Baptist Church in Sweden was founded in April 22 of the same year. Several of its members were dragged before the authorities, some had to pay heavy fines, Nilsson suffered imprisonment, and after a short period of faithful work, expatriation was the price he had to pay for the rights of his mind and soul.

The mantle laid down by Nilsson was taken up by Andrew Wiberg, who, prior to this, had been a clergyman in the State Church. He organized the first Baptist Church in Stockholm in 1854 (according to Bergroth 1860).

The advent in the capital of this new sect caused alarm among the state clergy, who secured the most able doctors of divinity obtainable publicly to defend the doctrine of infant baptism. This culminated on October 23, 1855, in a public debate, which drew an unusually large auditory. During the debate Wiberg stated that a majority of the state clergy might be considered unconverted. The members of the

state clergy present took offence and broke out into the most invective speeches against their opponent. This resulted in a great tumult and an outcry against Wiberg until his friends began to apprehend that his life was in imminent danger, and provision was made for his hurried escape.

All this spurred the friends of the Baptist faith to greater activity. The aid received from their brethren in America gave a mighty impetus to their work. Ministers and colporters were sent out into the country districts, and their work met with such success that at the close of 1856 the Baptists numbered 986 in Sweden, and in 1860 there were nearly 5,000 1).

In Helsingland the Baptist ministers met with fierce opposition. One evening when Pettersson from Sundsvall was holding a meeting, a large mob gathered outside the house and ran thru the window a pole, which struck him in the head so that he fell unconscious to the floor. Some may consider it an injustice to attribute such outrages to the State Church, but, when we take into consideration the fact that those who partook in these demonstrations were for that very reason termed the flower of the church by the state clergy, I believe one is quite justified in so doing 2).

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1) Cornelius' last q. w., pp. 353, 54; Bergroth's q. w., Chap. III; Ekman's "History of the Inland Mission," pp. 1329-52.

2) Ekman's q. w., Vol. 1, p. 781.

On October 26, 1858, the "conventical placard" of 1726 was abrogated by the issuance of a royal ordinance, but on December 11, 1868, another ordinance was issued which may be considered as a new edition of the old "conventical placard," for, according to this, any sermon which was judged by the select vestry to cause division in the church, constituted a sufficient ground for denying the preacher the right to continue his work, and for inflicting punishment upon him. Consequently we read of bitter persecutions of the Baptists as late as 1876, when, on August 15, G. V. Palmblad was sentenced to pay a fine of 300 Kr. for conducting Sunday-Schools and holding meetings. As he was unable to pay the fine, the punishment was changed to seventeen days imprisonment on a bread and water diet. The physicians' attestation of his physical weakness caused this to be changed to fifty-one days' simple imprisonment, which term he served in a prison in Norrköping 1).

In the case of the Baptists, as well as in the case of all other religious movements in Sweden, the wave of opposition has slowly subsided. The cause of this must be sought in the "spirit of the age" (see section "ordinances providing for Religious Liberty.") In many instances the civil authorities declined to enforce the existing laws against Separatists.

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1) Ekman's q. w., Vol. 3, pp. 1571, 72.



Thus, when the pastor in Traheryd took P. Nymansson, a Baptist minister, to the Sheriff in Markaryd to have him arrested, the latter greeted Nymansson cordially and invited him to hold a meeting in his house that evening. Nymansson gladly accepted the invitation, turned to the pastor and, with a gentle tip of his hat, said: "Much obliged for the ride." The pastor aggravated and ashamed, had to return without having achieved his object. Experiences like this evidently had their effect in causing the state clergy to lay down their weapons against what they termed the lay-preachers 1).

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1) Ekman's q. w., pp. 1198, 99.

### The Jansonites

A movement, the religious tenets of which were in no essential respect different from the fundamental principles common to all Evangelical churches, was that founded by Eric Janson. His style of delivery and mode of teaching and exhortation most nearly resembled those of the Methodists.

Eric Janson commenced his first missionary efforts in the province of Helsingland 1842. The movement swept over the province with the strength of a tornado. People flocked by the thousand to hear the new preacher, who was left unmolested only till the spring of 1844, when the authorities had him arrested. After a short imprisonment and a hearing before the governor of his province, he was discharged with instructions to appear again whenever called upon. During the following two years he made repeated attempts to continue his religious work among the people, but was each time arrested, and he suffered imprisonment on three or four occasions. Finally, disheartened and despairing of success in his native land, Eric Janson, with a few faithful followers, escaped over the mountains into Norway, in January, 1846, whence he repaired to Copenhagen, where he embarked on a vessel, which landed him in New York in the spring of the same year. In the month of July following, he finally arrived in the hamlet of Victoria, Knox county, Illinois.

As several of the adherents of Eric Janson had suffered fine and imprisonment for the most trifling offenses against the old and obsolete "Conventicle-law," they all prepared to follow their leader. Eleven hundred people wished to join the proposed colony, and, as only a few of these were able to defray the necessary expenses, the aggregate of their means was made a common fund and put into hands of trustees.

The hardships of the voyage were tremendous. Emigration from Sweden was then unknown and no vessels were to be found suitable for the purpose. The only Swedish ships trading with America carried cargoes of iron and were often mere old hulks. In several such vessels, temporarily fitted up to convey emigrants, the first parties of the Jansonites left in the spring and summer of 1846. One of these vessels with fifty passengers on board, was never heard of again; another was wrecked off Newfoundland, but her passengers were saved; a third was five months on the way, during which time the unhappy emigrants suffered greatly from both sickness and famine.

By the end of 1846 about four hundred had joined their leader in Victoria, Illinois. Janson had purchased several pieces of land; the one selected for a townsite was named Bishopshill, which was a literal translation of Eric Janson's native place "Biskopskulla" in Sweden.

At first the only shelter provided for the people consisted of tents, and log and turf cabins. As religion was paramount,

a place of worship was at once erected, where service was held twice a day on weekdays, and three times on Sundays. A school was also erected, where both young and old might receive instruction.

It would be of interest to follow in detail the organization of this colony and the work carried on by the colonists; but as that would take us beyond the scope of this thesis, I will give, as it were, a bird's-eye view of the colony after several more additions both from Sweden and Norway had been made, by quoting the words of Major John Swainson, who visited the place just after the incorporation of the colony in 1853: "We had occasion this year to visit the colony, and were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. Everything, seemingly, was on the top of prosperity. The people lived in large substantial brick houses. We had never before seen so large a farm, nor one so well cultivated. One of the trustees took us to an adjacent hill, from which we had in view the colony's cultivated fields, stretching away for miles. In one place we noticed fifty young men with the same number of horses and plows cultivating a cornfield, where every furrow was two miles in length. They moved with the regularity of soldiers. In another part was a field of a thousand acres in broom corn, the product of which, when baled, was to be delivered to Boston parties at Peoria, and was supposed to yield an income of fifty thousand dollars. All their live-stock was exceptionally fine, and apparently

given the best care. There was a stable of more than one hundred horses, the equals to which would be hard to find. One evening I was brought to an inclosure on the prairie, where the cows were milked. There must have been at least two hundred of them, and the milkmaids numbered forty or fifty. There was a large wagon, in which an immense tub was suspended on four posts, and in this each girl, ascending to the top by a stepladder, emptied her pail. The whole progress was over in half an hour. On Sunday I attended service. There was singing and prayer, and the sermon, by one of the leaders, contained nothing that a member of any Christian denomination might not hear in his own church. Altogether, I retain the most agreeable remembrance of this visit."

In consequence of the dishonesty of the trustees and a consequent financial rupture, as well as other dissensions, the colony was completely dissolved in 1861, and the property divided among the shareholders 1).

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1) Cornelius' last q. w., pp. 341-45; "Swedish Colony at Bishopshill, Ill.," by Major John Swainson (published in Scandinavia in 1884). This may also be found in Nelson's "Hist. of Scandinavians and Biographies, U. S.," Vol. I.



### Crying Voices

The last movement which will be considered in this thesis is the one which in Sweden is best known by the name "Crying Voices." This, like all previous movements reviewed, was but a part of an international, or well-nigh universal, movement, which attracted so much attention during the second quarter of last century.

Both in America and Europe prominent men were led to study the prophecies, and especially those of Daniel and the Apocalypse. They found that the rise and fall of nations thruout a period of about twenty-five hundred years had here been delineated in as literally true, concise, and striking words, as any historian could possibly have used to describe the matter after it had transpired. To them the testimony of history to the fulfilment of prophecy afforded sure and certain evidence that the Bible is of divine inspiration. Tracing down the inspired record, they saw convincing evidence that the end of all things was at hand, and consequently began to proclaim this doctrine; viz., "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come."

An English author, Mourant Brock, remarks (about 1840) that in America about three hundred ministers were preaching to this effect, while in England about seven hundred of the

Church of England were raising the same cry 1). In America William Miller, a Baptist, was the chief exponent of this doctrine. Dr. Joseph Wolf, a converted Jew who was born in Bavaria, 1795, has been fitly called "the missionary to the world." Endowed with almost unprecedented linguistic talent, he did, perhaps, give greater publicity to this doctrine than any one else. He declares that he has preached among Jews, Turks, Mohammedans, Parsees, Hindoos, Chaldeans, Yescedes, Syrians, Sabeans; to pashas, sheiks, shahs, the kings of Orangatsh and Bokhara, the queen of Greece, etc. 2). He arrived in New York in August, 1837, and after speaking in that city, he preached in Philadelphia and Baltimore and finally proceeded to Washington. "Here," he says, "on a motion brought forward by the ex-President, John Quincy Adams, in one of the houses of Congress, the House unanimously granted me the use of the Congress Hall for a lecture, which I delivered on a Saturday, honored with the presence of all the members of Congress, and also of the Bishop of Virginia, and the clergy and citizens of Washington" 3).

Somewhat earlier this movement had, in South America, found a representative in Lacunza, who published his views under the assumed name of "Rabbi Ben-Israel." In Germany Bengel had been its chief exponent, and in France and Switzerland

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1) "Advent Tracts," vol. II, p. 135 (1844).

2) "Wolf's Message to Bokhara," pp. 343, 44.

3) "The conflict of the Ages" by White, Wash., D. C., 1907, Vol. 3, pp. 360, 61.

Gaussen preached the message of the second advent.

In no country did this movement proportionately assume greater dimensions than in Sweden, and nowhere has the phenomenon to so great an extent challenged the attention of, not only the Historians, but the Sociologists, Psychologists, and Physicians as well.

In the province of Västergötland alone there were in 1843 not less than from two to three thousand of these "Crying Voices" who all proclaimed the same message. A majority of the clergy of the State Church opposed the movement, and thru their influence many who preached the message were thrown into prison. In many places where the preachers were thus silenced, the message was proclaimed in a miraculous manner by little children. Some of them were not more than six or eight years old; being under age they were less often molested. They ordinarily manifested only the intelligence and ability usually seen in children of that age. When standing before the people, however, it was evident that they were moved by an influence beyond their own natural gifts. Tone and manner changed, and with solemn power they gave the warning of the Judgment, employing the very words of the Scripture, "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come." The authorities tried to make out that this work was caused by a kind of disease among the children, and some of them were taken to hospitals, but they

did not cease preaching. The fruits of the movement were so good that in many instances even the State Church at last acknowledged it to be the work of God 1).

John Albert Butsch, the Bishop of Skara, devoted much attention and study to the singular phenomena of these "Crying Voices." He says, that the phenomenon commenced with certain bodily convulsions, whereupon the individuals fell backward and became insensible, in which state they claimed, after awakening, to have seen visions. No more than the first two stages, the convulsions and the trance, seemed to be voluntary, did the third manifestation, the preaching, seem to depend on the persons choice 2).

The movement was not confined to one or a few provinces, but from the vast plains of Scania to the towering mountain ranges of Norway there was a general stir among the people of Sweden. I have been unable, however, to find any estimate of the number of these "Crying Voices" except for the province of Västergötland.

In many instances the people at first seemed to be unaware of the stringent conventicle edicts still to be found on the statute books of Sweden. They consequently flocked fearlessly to these gatherings, and made no endeavor to hold

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1) Ekman's q. w., Chap. 54; A series of articles which in 1900 appeared in "Fosterlands-Vännen" (weekly periodical edited by John Kvist in Örebro). The periodical is found in the Uppsala Univ. Lib.

2) Cornelius' "Hist. of the Sw. Church since the Ref.," part II, pp. 223-25.

the meetings in secluded places. In many places the persecution suffered at the hands of the state authorities grew fiercer. Those connected with the movement retired to the most out-of-the-way and secluded places for their meetings, but they were hunted like the beasts of the forest and when found, carried off to prison, where they were placed among criminals of the lowest type, and cruelly treated. I will notice a few specific examples.

During a meeting in one of these out-of-the-way nooks on the border between the districts of Örebro and Skaraborg, the Sheriff from Örebro with a number of officers, all on horseback, appeared. He fined a large number of those present. The woman who was preaching he carried off to Örebro where she was cast into a dark and damp prison cell in the cellar of a castle where, in the same cell, were kept twenty female convicts, and in an adjoining cell a number of male criminals. Upon entering this hellish den where twenty pairs of wild satanic eyes stared into her face, this woman fell prostrate on the floor and began to pray. She was scoffed at and ridiculed by the other prisoners, and not until the third night, when they fell into a deep sleep, was she left unmolested by them. She now began to sing songs of praise and pray aloud, and thus became the means of the conversion of one of the male criminals who was to be beheaded in a few weeks.



After six weeks of imprisonment, the woman was brought before the governor for trial. When he, however, learned where her home was, he said that her case did not come within his jurisdiction. But as the aforementioned prisoner was just then to be taken to Mariestad for execution, it was arranged to convey her to that place in the same vehicle. The journey occupied two days, after which she was kept in prison eleven days on a bread and water diet 1).

In Ostergötland these "Crying Voices" began to sound their warning message during the first decade of the last century. The clergy and other state officials instigated a relentless persecution against those connected with this movement. The case of Helena Sophia Ekblom is an illustrative example. She commenced to preach at the age of nine. She was at once forbidden to do this, but as the dean of the parish had a degree of sympathy for her, she was left practically unmolested until she reached the age of sixteen, when with threats he sought to scare her from continuing her preaching. As this proved unsuccessful he called a parish meeting. A majority of the laity took up Helena's defense, and her work was continued with unabated zeal. Those who opposed her grew well nigh mad, and began to lay plans for putting her to death. At one place, where she had been invited to dinner, poison was put into her coffee; but a beggar-child, who had

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1) Ekman's q. w., pp. 1031-33.

entered, had accidentally seen that poison had been put in Helena's cup. The child crept up to her and told her of the matter. The coffee was examined, and the child's story found to be true. Helena thus escaped this attempt on her life.

While she was preaching in the district of Kalmar, the curate sent two men to take her to Linköping where, only half dressed, she was thrust into a large prison among a number of the most obscene criminals. She became exceedingly frightened and burst into tears, and when food was set before her, she was unable on account of sorrow to taste of it. The prison warden was very well disposed towards her and did what he could to ameliorate her condition. She was soon brought up for trial, but no law was found of a breach of which she could be judged guilty. Her enemies succeeded, however, in attaining the desired end. Under the pretense that she was insane, they ordered her removal to Vadstena Asylum. The prison warden tried to comfort her, and counseled her to go to the superintendant of the asylum and relate to him the whole case; for the warden felt sure that if the superintendant had any heart, he would then treat her kindly. The superintendant, however, was brutal in the extreme and treated her with the utmost cruelty. But her enemies were not long permitted to rejoice for she was soon delivered from the asylum.

After this experience some of Helena's friends always accompanied her on her missionary travels. But, in spite of the utmost precaution, one from the ranks of her enemies succeeded in inflicting a wound which nearly resulted in her death. As soon as she had recovered sufficiently, she continued her work, but only to be thrust into prison again; the soon released, she had no more than fairly commenced her work when she was seized, taken to Vadstena and there behind locked doors, secured in iron chains. She suffered intensely, but during the two years and fourteen days she lay there, she wrote her own life-history and three religious essays. She also succeeded in sending a written petition to the king, Charles XIII, which resulted in her freedom 1).

A volume might be written about the religious persecutions in Sweden during the period we are now dealing with, but these examples show the inevitable result when force is resorted to in religious matters, or the result of a union between Church and State.

In the province of Nerike it appears that more fines were imposed and more persons imprisoned than in any other province in Sweden. On July 27, 1843, what is known in the history of Sweden as the "religious war at Kvistbro" broke out, in which much blood was spilt 2).

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1) Ekman's q. w., pp. 963-72. 2) Id., pp. 947-54.

Ordinances Providing for Religious Liberty

As has been shown, the cause of religious freedom has made forward strides ever since the Reformation gained a foothold in Sweden, but it will be remembered that nearly all ordinances granting freedom in the exercise of religion had reference to foreigners, and the severe penalty for apostasy from the state religion on the part of native-born citizens was still a part of the law of the land. The same was true with reference to the "conventicle placard" of 1726. It is true that the utmost rigour of the law was seldom exercised, but yet, as the religious movements assumed greater dimensions, voices were heard from all directions urging tolerance in religious matters. Some fought very ably for the true principles of Religious Liberty. The continued persecutions poured oil upon the flames.

In the constitution of 1809 the clause, "Unity in religion and in the true divine service is the strongest foundation for a lawful, harmonious, and enduring government," was omitted, and by paragraph 16 the following guarantee was given: "In matters of conscience the king shall constrain no one nor permit any one to be constrained, but protect each one in the free exercise of his religion, provided that he does not disturb the peace of the community nor

cause public annoyance."

It appears, however, that, like Louis XIV of France when he haughtily exclaimed, "I am the State," so the state clergy considered themselves the "community" and the "public," for they were always to judge when the peace of the community had been disturbed and public annoyance caused, and their supersensitive and hypercritical minds seem to have been annoyed even when a prayer-meeting was quietly held in the most secluded place, but, on the contrary, when, at their bidding, many of Sweden's most loyal citizens were dragged before the courts and sentenced to banishment or torture, or were exposed to the fury of the mob, then these D. Dis ("Dumb Dogs," as Isaiah puts it, Chap. 56:10.) enjoyed the greatest peace of mind. In dwelling upon this matter, Mr. Rosenqvist, a member of the Commonalty, aptly said that it could not be the prayer-meeting, but the community, that was offensive 1).

In 1848, the same year that religious liberty was granted in Denmark, Doctor Sandberg brought forward a resolution in the Ecclesiastical Estate providing for the repeal of the "conventicle placard." The fierce opposition to this resolution showed that the cause of freedom had only a few friends among the clergy; on the contrary there appears,

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1) Rep. of Com., Nov. 9, 1859.



about the middle of the nineteenth century, to have been a more wide-spread persecution in Sweden than ever before.

In connection with the latter movements dealt with I have spoken of this, as far as the persecution was directed against those identified with the sects in question; but thruout the whole of Sweden at this time, there swept a religious wave which caused large numbers of the laity to leave their vocations and, without joining any denomination, to go out as itinerant missionaries, conducting meetings and Bible classes. The term "Readers" was generally applied to these.

The opposition of the State Church to this form of pietism was relentless in the extreme. All the laws against non-conformists on the statute books were resorted to in order to crush the movement. Protests and appeals were sent to the king, both by persecutors and persecuted, until His Majesty was thrown from one to the other horn of the dilemma and constantly kept at his wits' end to know what judgment to render. The wisdom of Solomon would not have sufficed to mete out what would have appeared to all to be justice. This is, of course, the inevitable result whenever a government assumes the right to dictate in matters of conscience.

In the province of Dalecarlia the persecution appears to have been the fiercest. Whole congregations were sued and summoned before the district courts. Heavy fines or imprisonment on a bread and water diet were the most common forms

of punishment. These who, after paying the penalty, refused to perform the penance ordered by the Church were in many instances thrust into prison until they became so physically weak and so discouraged that they lost much of their power of resistance.

The Chapter in Vesterås appointed a committee of clergymen to ascertain the causes of the religious disturbances in Orsa, Dalecarlia. Overseers were also appointed to see that no meetings were held and that no one from other districts was permitted to cross the boundary and enter this district. The latter could be easily done, as at this time no one was allowed to leave his own province without a passport on which it was stated what places were to be visited and the reasons for visiting them.

This committee wrote out 232 questions which all who were suspected of pietism were required to answer. In order to show the tenor of these questions I will give the first and the last, as well as the answers generally received to them: No. 1. "What is the first question in Laurelius' questions?" Ans. "We have not read the questions." No. 232. "In 1 Pet. 2:9 it speaks of a spiritual priesthood to which all believers are called, what relation do those thus called sustain towards the regularly called clergy, and what limits do the Scriptures set for the work of the spiritual priesthood?" Ans. "The spiritually called are content to keep

silence when those regularly called preach the Word of God aright."

It is said that the number of those who were prosecuted for administering the sacraments, assembling for prayer and song-service, etc., was so great in Dalecarlia alone that the Falun prison could hold only half of them. Among the chief of these may be mentioned B. A. Hansson, S. A. Andersson, D. E. Ersson, D. Forssell, P. F. Hejdenberg, and N. P. Persson. The last-named, who is still living, I had the privilege of hearing at a lecture a short time ago. During the years 1850 to 1855 he, with many others, were repeatedly subjected to fines, imprisonment, and banishment. Thus we see how, a little more than half a century ago, many of Sweden's most honest and irreproachable citizens were tortured by ecclesiastical demagogues. It constitutes one of the darkest pages in the history of Sweden 1).

In Norrland a bitter persecution was brought on by the refusal on the part of a large proportion of the members of the State Church to accept the new service-book and psalm-book that then came out. These, in an appeal to the king, at first asked that they should be allowed to use the old books. This was refused whereupon they declined to attend the regular services and called on lay members to administer

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1) Ekman's q. w., pp. 584-625.

the sacraments according to the old formula, even letting these christen their children. A number of the pastors were willing to comply with the wishes of the people, but Reuter-dahl, later archbishop, who was a member of the council, advised the king to permit the persecutions of these nonconformists to be made more extensive and thoroughgoing. The result was that such heavy fines were imposed on the poor peasants that many were deprived of all their property 1).

The deplorable state of affairs thruout Sweden caused a church conference to be called at Helsingborg on July 22, 1851. Dean Ahnfelt presided at this meeting. The opinion of those present can be seen from the following resolution which was passed without much opposition: "Every Church that persecutes those who differ from it in faith, is in this respect not a Christian Church." It was decided to make the conference an annual affair. The next meeting was held at the same place on July 20 and 21, 1852. Both from Sweden and from foreign countries friends of the cause of liberty assembled here. Among the most able champions of liberty may be mentioned Dr. Fjellstedt and pastors Hammar, Bergman, and Welinder 2).

On Sept. 27 and 28 of the same year was held a religious

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1) Id., Chap. 43.

2) "Allmänna Öresunds-Posten," the issue for July 26, 1851, and the issues for July 22 and 24, 1852, preserved in the Uppsala Univ. Lib.

liberty meeting in Stockholm, the first one of its kind in Sweden. A large number of laymen followed the deliberations with great interest, but, of the one hundred and twenty clergymen in the capital, it is believed that only ten ever attended the meeting, and of these only four or five followed the deliberations from the beginning to the end. According to a statement of pastor Hammar the reason for this was that they felt sure that their cause would for a long time to come be safeguarded by the Estates. The best explanation for their absence may be the fact that they were aware of the weakness of the arguments they were able to muster in defence of religious intolerance.

Alderman Henschen of Uppsala counselled those who were persecuted to send with their appeals to the courts as many explanatory and elucidatory supplements as possible, as this would give the courts a right understanding of the believers' case, which often was misrepresented. as a result of this the courts were flooded with documents, which they were obliged to read, and, as a consequence, they felt inclined to secure the repeal of a law that caused them such a tremendous amount of work. They also brought pressure to bear on the government to cause it to repeal the law forbidding religious gatherings.

It is said that Oscar I at one time asked bishop Thomander if he did not consider it practicable to serve out to all



pietists the same treatment as had been served out to Nils-son, the Baptist of Gothenborg; viz., to banish them. The bishop is said to have answered: "Your Majesty's fleet is too small for such a shipment."

At the above-mentioned meeting dean Thomander was chosen chairman, other champions of the cause of religious liberty were alderman Henschen of Uppsala, pastors Bergman and Hammar of Scania, lector Elmlad, and G. O. Rosenius.

As special subjects for consideration had been proposed the following three questions: "Is it consistent with the essence of Christianity to use civil force in order to spread and establish it?" -- "Is there judicially and in fact religious liberty in Sweden, and can one seriously speak of freedom of confession?" -- "Is the degree of education of the Swedish people lower now than that of the Norwegian people seven years ago, when their Storting, by the passage of the now existing dissenters' law, abolished constraint in religious matters, and their king (who is also our king) declared that religious liberty for every denomination and for every individual was in perfect accord with the spirit of Norway's polity, with the present-day conception of tolerance, and with the present state of affairs in the land?"

With respect to the first of these questions it was pointed out that, when the church resorted to the civil sword, it was an indication that she no longer sought her strength and

safety from God, but had separated herself from Him.

In regard to the first part of the second question it was agreed that, according to paragraph 16 of the fundamental law of Sweden, religious liberty was guaranteed, but in fact this liberty was lacking in Sweden. The second part of the question was answered by a unanimous "no."

The third question gave occasion to an expression of regret that the noble and benevolent king should in one kingdom be obliged, according to paragraphs of the old Vandal law, to banish citizens, who in the other kingdom enjoyed all political and civil rights. It was pointed out as being in a high degree humiliating for the people of Sweden to occupy this unique position with respect to religious liberty, seeing that their neighbors across the strait enjoyed full liberty of conscience 1).

June 14-17, 1853, there was held in Stockholm a convocation of the Swedish clergy. More than a hundred clergymen from different parts of the country were present. Thirty questions were presented for consideration, of which the first was as follows: "As separatism in several respects can be considered as an evil, what is the right way to counteract it, and what weapons should be used against it?" A hot discussion ensued.

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1) A complete report of this meeting is found in the journal: "Svensk Tidning. Dagligt Allahanda i Stockholm," in the issues for Sept. 28, 29, and 30 of the evening edition, and the issues for Sept. 29 & 30 and Oct. 1 of the morning edition. All the issues of this journal referred to are preserved in the Uppsala Univ. Lib.

A number defended the pietist movements, while others depicted pietism in dark colors. It was eventually proposed that a communication should be sent to the king expressing the desire that the separatists should be treated with leniency. This resolution was rejected by 64 votes against 34.

The fourth question was: "Should meetings for the studying of the Scriptures be regarded as unlawful and unnecessary, and under what circumstances can it be considered undesirable to have lay-members participating in expounding the Scriptures?" The question aroused a lengthy and lively discussion. It was pointed out that, according to the "conventicle placard," such meetings were unlawful, but, according to the Word of God and the example of the earliest Christian Church, they were perfectly lawful; and the example of the early Christians, it was maintained, shows that under such circumstances one should obey God rather than man. All but two or three agreed that the "conventicle placard" should be abrogated.

The result of the whole meeting may be said to have been a great victory for the cause of religious liberty, but especially does the last step show how this cause was gaining ground, for practically all these clergymen were opposed to private gatherings for Bible study and worship. They had, however, been led to see the evil results of trying by force to hinder such gatherings. It can not be doubted that this expression of public opinion had a wholesome effect on

the Ecclesiastical Estate as regards their attitude toward the cause of liberty of conscience 1).

Immediately following upon this convocation, June 18-20, was held a religious liberty meeting (the second of its kind) in Stockholm. This meeting was arranged then in order to get as many of the assembled clergy as possible to attend. They, however, did not remain, but many representatives, both laymen and clergymen, from different parts of the country came to this rendezvous. The cause of liberty was ably defended, but, as the arguments were mainly of the same purport as those put forward at the previous meetings, I will not here give an account of the discussion 2).

On July 19 and 20 of the same year was held a church conference at Helsingborg. Here also religious liberty came up as a subject for deliberation and was forcibly defended.

On June 14, 1854, was held in Stockholm another convocation of the Swedish clergy, which lasted for three days 3), and now, as the year before, the friends of the cause of freedom of conscience arranged to hold a religious liberty meeting

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1) A full report of this convocation is found in the journal before quoted, in the issues for June 16-18 & 20 of the morning edition, and the issues for June 15-18 of the evening edition.

2) A full report of the meeting is given in the above quoted journal, issues of June 21-23 of the morning edition, and those of 20-22 of the evening edition.

3) A brief account of this convocation is given in above quoted journal, issues of June 16, 19, & 20 of the morning edition, and those of June 15-19 of the evening edition. A complete report is given in "Vaktaren," issues of June 17, 21, 23, & 28, and July 1 & 5, 1854.

immediately after the close of the convocation. Baron Creutz was chosen chairman of the meeting. Of the five questions submitted for discussion I will quote the first: "Is the civil government, whether it be Christian or non-Christian, injured or benefitted by religious liberty?"

In answering this question it was pointed out that the State is always benefitted and never suffers injury from religious liberty. If and when a person's religious belief should change, it can not possibly be a crime to confess this, whereas it would unquestionably be a crime to hold one belief and confess another. Nevertheless to do the one was punished as a crime, and to do the other was considered legitimate. Such a course of action would be sure to encourage hypocrisy and mendacity, while it would discourage honesty, candor, and uprightness, and therefore would have the most baleful influence on society.

Attention was also called to the fact that in all Protestant countries religious liberty was granted, and even in the ancient heathen countries a greater degree of religious liberty had been granted than was the case in Sweden, for they at least tolerated all similar religions, and this was not true of Sweden. Examples from history served to show that governments had never profited by intolerance in religious matters. It was not because of religious liberty, but because of religious intolerance that ancient Rome saw



its glory vanish. It cast out, not criminals -- they enjoyed religious liberty --, but several hundred thousand of its most noble citizens. The religious persecutions in France also bore witness to the same fact. If in a like manner the truth-loving people should be plucked away in Sweden, then its last hour would soon be struck 1).

Not alone at home, but even abroad did the persecutions in Sweden challenge attention, and Sweden was decried as the land of intolerance. In the fall of 1851 was held in London a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. Representatives from nearly all different Protestant denominations were present. Sweden was represented by two persons of quite different types; viz., Archbishop Wingård and the Baptist minister F. O. Nilsson who had been exiled because of his religious faith. The Archbishop did not appear in person, but sent a communication in which, as the primate of the Church of Sweden, he expressed his good will towards the Alliance, and deeply deplored the circumstance that his great age and frailness made his presence impossible -- the fact is, however, that he was busy working on a circular urging the government to adopt violent measures against his own fellow-believers. Nilsson was present in person and, before the great assembly, told of the bitter persecution he had suffered. The pitiful

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1) "Väktaren," No. 54, July 8, 1854.

condition existing in Sweden was made a special subject of prayer at the conference.

The government of Sweden was not kept in ignorance with respect to what had transpired at the conference in London. Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister of England, sent a communication to the Swedish government urging that the intolerant legislation against those of different religious belief should be made more lenient. Simultaneously a similar communication was sent from France to the Swedish government.

At a synod of the Reformed Church in France, held in Paris in 1852, it was decided to send a request to the Protestant Church of Sweden, asking that in the future legislation of Sweden the intolerant law might be repealed. A committee was appointed which, on April 7, sent a communication to Archbishop Hans Olof Holmström of Uppsala, asking his co-operation in the matter. As the archbishop left this letter unanswered, the president of the Reformed Church in France, Frederick Monod, sent another letter, practically a duplicate of the first, on October 13, 1853. An urgent plea was made that, at the Riksdag then about to convene, the "conventicle placard" of 1726 should be abrogated, and "in the name of the Gospel, in the name of our common faith, in the name of our common Saviour, in the name of humanity, and in the name of common sense" the Swedish government was implored to alleviate the suffering of their fellow-believers who, during that

year, had been sentenced to imprisonment on a bread and water diet, and those, who in lack of money to pay the heavy fines imposed, had been robbed of all their property and thus reduced to extreme poverty.

In October 1853, at a conference in London of the Evangelical Alliance, the continued persecutions in Sweden was again a subject for consideration. The foreign minister of England, Lord Clarendon, was requested to send a petition to the king of Sweden endeavoring to obtain toleration for those whose religious belief differed from that of the State Church.

On October 20 of the same year the central committee of the French division of the Evangelical Alliance sent a communication to the minister of state in Sweden stating that, if the Alliance as a body had found occasion to work for the release of Dr. Achillis and Mr. and Mrs. Madiais, who for their faith were held prisoners in Rome and Tuscany, then they felt doubly constrained to take a similar step on behalf of those who, in a Protestant country, for the same reason, were suffering fines and imprisonment on a bread and water diet. They implored the minister of state to use all his influence with the king and the Estates in order to obtain the repeal of the laws by reason of which so much persecution had been caused in Sweden.

On February 22, 1855, Pastor James Lumsden of Barry held a lecture in Edinburgh, Scotland, on the religious state of

affairs in Sweden. A collection was taken for those who suffered persecution in Sweden. In the periodical, "The Witness," there was also made a general call for help on behalf of those who, unable to pay the heavy fines imposed, had been divested of all their property. Here it may be in place to say that also in Sweden considerable means had in this way been gathered among the friends of those who were persecuted.

At a Synod of the English Presbyterian Church, held in London on April 23, 1855, a memorial was sent to His Majesty, King Oscar I of Sweden, beseeching him that the intolerant laws might be altered or repealed.

The same year the Free Church of Scotland sent a similar memorial to King Oscar I. They stated that they had been encouraged to approach His Majesty by the remembrance of the close relationship between the Swedes and the Scotch, and the recollection of the close alliance and brotherhood that existed between them, when, under the great Gustavus, they fought honorable battles for the cause of freedom. They expressed their deepest regret for the fact that a people, to whom Protestantism and the cause of religious liberty in Northern Europe owed such an inexpressibly deep debt, should deny its own citizens what they had helped to gain for others.

At a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Paris, in August 1855, Pastor Bergman of Vinslöf was present and gave an account of the religious state of affairs in Sweden.

Following this the renowned French pastor, Fredr. Monod, with this as a basis, delivered a stirring oration. He was at different times interrupted by the cheers of his audience. He dwelt upon the execrableness of religious persecutions in general, but especially upon the deplorableness and the shamefulness of persecutions by the Protestants, as this was contrary to their own teachings. As he then exclaimed: "Shame upon the Roman persecution, but a threefold shame upon the Protestant!" the audience broke into a storm of applause. And, as he shortly thereafter stated that the Roman Church, in her persecutions, acted consistently with her own teachings, but that the Protestant Church, in every persecution for the sake of religion goes contrary to her teaching, the loud acclamation was renewed 1).

The criticism and appeal both from the homeland and from abroad were probably responsible for the fact that, in the Riksdag of 1853-54, proposals for the repeal or for a change of the "conventicle placard" were made in all the secular Estates. In the Nobility Stephan Creutz moved that the Norwegian Dissenters' Law of 1845 be adopted. The motion met with fierce opposition. In a less degree this was true of a similar motion brought before the Commonalty by alderman Henschen of Uppsala and one made in the Peasantry by

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1) Ekman's q. w., Chap. 61, part 2.



Gustaf Bjerkander 1).

All motions concerning this question were referred to a judicial committee. Here Prof. Bring brought forward a lengthy resolution which, with a few changes, was passed by all the Estates. This, however, circumscribed the liberties of dissenters as much as they had been prior to this time. Besides this there was passed at this Riksdag the so-called sacramental law, which provided that anyone who, after having been admonished, administered the sacraments should pay a fine of 300 "daler," and every one who, after due warning, received the sacraments from him should pay a fine of 50 "daler."

Thundering voices were raised against the latter resolution in the different Estates. Among the Nobility many of the speakers displayed a thoro knowledge of the subject, and very ably fought for the principles of religious liberty. As a result the resolution received a majority of only two votes in this Estate, evidence that the cause of freedom would soon see better days 2).

In order to prevent the bill passed from becoming law, there united not less than 1,153 persons, among whom were clergymen, physicians, lawyers, etc., who signed a petition which was sent to the king. His Majesty was implored not to ratify the

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1) Rep. of Nob., Dec. 3, 7, 17, 19, & 22, 1853, Jan. 11, Feb. 4, & June 16 & 21, 1854; Rep. of Com., Dec. 31, 1853, Jan. 7 & June 16, 1854; Rep. of Peasantry, Dec. 23 & 24, 1853, June 16 & 28, 1854; Eccl. Rep., June 21, 1854.

2) Eccl. Rep., June 22 & 28, Nov. 8 & 11, 1854; Rep. of Nob., June 21, Nov. 14, 1854; Rep. of Com., June 16, Nov. 22, 1854; Rep. of Peasantry, June 16, Nov. 11, 1854.

sacramental resolution. In spite of this it was ratified by the royal letter of March 7, 1855 1).

There is, however, from this time onward, on the part of the government, the courts, and the directors of public prosecutions, manifested a marked reluctance against enforcing these intolerant laws.

In the address with which the king opened the Riksdag of 1856-1858, he speaks of the spirit of forbearance that belongs to the very essence of the Protestant religion and benefits the people whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, with brilliant victories and the sacrifice of his life, laid the foundation of liberty of thought in Middle Europe. He further states that these paragraphs of the law which circumscribe the religious freedom of the people and hinder the conduct of devotional exercises ought to disappear. He also states that resolutions dealing with this matter, as well as the abolition of banishment as a form of punishment, will be submitted to the Estates.

In accordance with the king's address the government formulated a resolution that was sent to the highest court, which had to pronounce upon it before it should go to the Estates. The court disapproved of the resolution, whereupon His Majesty sent a new resolution concerning religious

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1) "Svensk författnings-samling" for 1855, No. 32; Ekman's q. w., p. 1393.

liberty to the Estates. According to this, full liberty should be granted to hold religious meetings, provided that they were not, without special permission, held at the time for the regular service in the State Church 1).

In the council all the members, Anjou, the Minister of Public Worship and Education, excepted, supported the resolution 2). In the Riksdag it called forth, especially in the Nobility, a long and serious debate. Among those who spoke in its favor may be mentioned P. R. Tersmeden and Thure Cederström.

Among other things Tersmeden stated: "We have seen men with true Christian heroism expose their lives in order to convert the people of India and China to the Christian religion, but I have not heard it related that in order to bring about these conversions they use banishment as a threat or official positions as a bait; the acceptance of Christianity is a matter of choice. Would it then be so perilous to grant the Swedes the same right that is granted to the Indians and the Chinese? Would it be so inexpedient to let the priestly office to a certain degree take on a missionary character? 'Go out' often occurs in the Holy Scriptures, on the contrary, in no instance does 'drive out' occur, and if He unto whom is given all power in heaven and in earth has

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1) The resolutions are found in "Supplement to the Riksdag's reports for 1856-58," Collection No. 1, No. 104.

2) Id.

uttered on more than one occasion: 'forbid not,' then we, who call ourselves his followers, ought to be less hasty in forbidding" 1).

In speaking of three men, a prominent painter, Pettersson, and two Nilssons, who shortly before this time had been banished on account of their religious belief, Cederström said that, as he was travelling in foreign countries when the news of the last sentence was published, he heard the opinion commonly expressed that this persecution was considered a disgrace for the Swedish nation. "If Mr. Tham" (a member of the Nobility who argued for the retention of the "conventicle placard"), he said, "had been present at the conversations which, because of the above-mentioned sentence of exile, were carried on outside of Sweden, I firmly believe that his love of his country would have considerably cooled off his zeal for constraint in matters of conscience 2).

Cederström produced statistics which showed that during the years 1851-54 the district courts of Bergsjö and Forsa had imposed fines on 427 persons to the amount of 8,493 rix-daler banco for receiving the sacraments from unordained persons, and during 1852-54 the assize of the parishes of Elfdal and Särna had imposed fines on 210 persons to the amount of 5,774 rix-daler banco for receiving the sacraments

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1.) Rep. of Nob., Oct. 31, 1857.

2.) Rep. of Nob., Nov. 12, 1858.

from the hands of others than the state clergy and for worshipping unobtrusively in their own homes, and, for reading the Lord's prayer and a few other portions of the Scriptures on a Sunday to thirteen men and twenty women, one man had been fined 66 rix-daler banco and 32 skilling banco, and because it was on a Sunday, 3 rix-daler and 16 skilling for breaking the Saboath 1).

He said that he knew of a certainty that 922 Baptists and a great many adherents of other dissenting sects, had firmly decided that, if the Riksdag did not pass the royal resolution, they would publicly announce their secession from the State Church and ask that the punishment of exile be applied in their cases. He further showed what had been the effect of religious intolerance in other countries, and pointed out that Sweden occupied a unique position in retaining these coercive laws. He maintained that the justness of the claim for religious liberty was recognized even by non-Christian countries. In proof of this he quoted from a speech delivered

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1) It is difficult to give the exact value of a rix-daler banco at this time as the circulating value of the different coins as well as paper money changed nearly every time a new monetary system was adopted, and, after the adoption of a new system, a name would be used interchangeably for many years, at times representing the old value and at times the new. Doctor Sandberg, a member of the Ecclesiastical Estate, when referring to the last of these fines, says that a rix-daler banco is equivalent to 3 daler in silver. A rix-daler banco would therefore be equivalent to 1 rix-daler specie or 4 kronor, which would amount to approximately \$1.07.  
--Ecccl. Rep., Jan. 12, 1848.



by Resched pasha in Adrianople in 1848, in which he promised full religious freedom to Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews alike, as, in the distribution of his grace, His Majesty knew no difference in religion.

With reference to the argument advanced by his opponents, --that Gustavus I introduced, Charles IX confirmed, and Gustavus II Adolphus set the seal on the doctrines of the State Church, and that one should not abandon the faith of his fathers, a faith that had been professed for three centuries--, Cederström maintained that, if this proposition would be accepted unqualifiedly, then Gustavus I did a great wrong in apostatizing from the faith of his fathers, Catholicism, which was still older, as it was brought to Sweden by Ansgarius in the ninth century. And the Swedes who then embraced Catholicism were still greater apostates, for the Aasen faith was a still older religion. Consequently he believed that the talk about the faith of the fathers was nothing but an empty phrase, for one does not profess a religion because it has been the religion of his ancestors, but because one believes it to be the true religion. He further maintained that it was a great mistake to believe that the great king Gustavus II Adolphus fought and died for the State Church, for his was a fight for the establishment and preservation of religious liberty and a living protest against the religious intolerance which was then

rampant in the form of Catholicism, and the principle of religious liberty was recognized, too, in the Peace of Westphalia. In conclusion he said: "Hence, if we would honor the memory of our most noble, our greatest King, if we would not abandon the holy cause for which he shed his blood on the bloody plains of Lutzen, then we must pass the Royal Resolution" 1).

The king's resolution was referred to a judicial committee, which referred it back to the Riksdag with the request that it should be rejected. The committee, however, proposed a change in several sections of the code in question.

Another lengthy debate followed in the Riksdag. In the Nobility G. Cederschiöld pointed out that coercive laws in religious matters create hypocrites, as the state could never hope to force an individual to change his belief; all it could possibly do was to prevail upon him to confess what he did not believe. The state consequently put a premium on falsehood, and raised hypocrisy to a social virtue. A perfect State would thus be one that consisted of only hypocrites. He said that the decision of the Riksdag, spread abroad with lightning speed over the whole civilized world, would decide, even on the part of many who never before had heard the Swedish name, the opinion, as to whether Sweden should be counted among the civilized nations.

Cederschiöld also introduced a resolution to the effect

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1) Rep. of Nob., June 18, 1857.

that the Riksdag should award a prize of 1000 rix-daler for a thesis which would show whether the civil and the political development of society had been greater under religious tolerance or under intolerance. The resolution was laid ad acta, that is, it led to no action. 1).

J. Alströmer argued that the State should enact laws within the sphere of its jurisdiction, but not in what pertained to the Kingdom of God. Here no law would be valid but the one written amidst the flames on mount Sinai and in the holy blood on Golgatha. And this is called God's righteousness and God's grace 2).

The royal resolution, however, received a majority of votes only in the Commonalty. The cause of liberty had apparently suffered defeat 3).

In England, France, and Germany the leading papers made known to their readers the result of this struggle for religious freedom. It was deplored that the representatives of the people should have rejected a resolution in which the government offered religious liberty to its people 4).

The royal proposition was again referred to the judicial committee, which now reported favorably on the paragraph relating to the repeal of the "conventicle placard" of Jan.

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1) Rep. of Nob., Oct. 3, 31, & Nov. 7, 11, 1857.

2) Rep. of Nob., Nov. 4, 1857.

3) See reports of all four Estates for Oct. 31, 1857.

4) Ekman's q. w., p. 1417.

12, 1726. The committee further proposed that members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church should be privileged with certain restrictions, to hold religious meetings without the presence and superintendence of the pastor. The proposition of the committee was passed by the Riksdag, and in a communication of Feb. 26, 1858, the resolution was sent to His Majesty for confirmation. It was ratified by the issuance of a royal ordinance on Oct. 26, 1858 1).

The pressure of public opinion both at home and abroad caused Charles XV to send, on Oct. 27, 1859, a resolution to the Riksdag which was somewhat similar to the one sent by Oscar I to the preceding Riksdag. According to the new resolution, however, dissenters were not to be granted as full freedom as by the provisions of the one formulated by the former king. One reason for this appears to have been that the new king believed that it would be impossible to secure the passage of a resolution granting unrestricted liberty. The resolution provided that, by the king's consent, dissenters were to be allowed to secede from the State Church and organize churches of their own. The penalty for disseminating doctrines which differed from the confession of

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1) See Rep. of Nob. and Eocl. Rep. for Feb. 24, 1858, and reports of Com. and Peasantry for Feb. 26, 1858; "The Law of Sweden," adopted 1734 (any edition published after 1858), Chap. 7, Par. 4, of the penal law; "Svensk författnings-samling" for 1858, No. 90.

the State Church was to be changed from exile to fine or imprisonment 1).

In the introduction the king stated that the number of those who had joined sects whose tenets differed more or less from those of the State Church, had become so great that the penalty appointed by the law; viz., banishment and the loss of the right of inheritance within the nation, could not reasonably be applied on all of them even the difficulty would not meet in the execution of the sentence.

The royal resolution aroused lengthy discussions in all four Estates, but was not passed by any of them. In the Secular Estates it failed to get the necessary support because the advocates of religious liberty considered that, as the resolution did not grant the full freedom assured by paragraph 16 of the constitution of 1809, it would be a retrogression to pass it 2).

In the Commonalty Hierta pointed out the many defects in the proposed law. Among other things he said that there were many who read the Bible and found no injunction to have their children baptized soon after they were born; but, if the children were left unbaptized a few weeks, the bailiff

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1) Supplement to the Riksdag Reports, 1859-1860, Collection I, part 1, No. 38.

2) See Rep. of Nob., Nov. 9, 1859, May 19, 22, & June 9, 1860; Rep. of Com. and Peasantry, Nov. 9, 1859, & May 16, 1860; Eccl. Rep., Nov. 9, 12, 16, 19, 1859, & May 16, 18, 1860.



would come and take them by force to the church to be baptized, and in addition the parents would in all probability have to pay a fine. The resolution, he said, provided for no change in this matter.

Mr. Hierta produced quotations from five Swedish bishops who, either in preceding Riksdags or on other occasions, had spoken in defence of complete religious liberty. I will give the one that he quoted from an address given in the Växjö cathedral by the famous Tegner: "The principal thing in the Protestant Confession, the leading idea in its whole doctrinal structure is: that no human tradition shall bind our faith; that, within the wide bounds marked out by revelation, our thoughts shall be free; that investigation shall be let loose in every direction, and the human reason, which is also a revelation, be given its right of inquiry without encroachment. This thought is humanity's great charter, it is God's charter to the world, it is the very essence of Christianity. Without this thought no cultural development is possible, and, where civilisation, like a stagnant water, is at a standstill, there no civil liberty can thrive; and no fetters are so oppressive as those which are forged to heaven." --"Thus the Protestant Church is ever the high school of mankind; she is the fortress of light; she is the bulwark of liberty. For this it was that Gustavus II Adolphus fought; these treasures it was that he would save from the destruction" 1).

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1) Rep. of Com., Nov. 9, 1859.

In the Peasantry and in the Ecclesiastical Estate the royal resolution was laid ad acta on June 22, 1860, on June 27 it suffered a similar fate in the Nobility, and on June 30 in the Commonalty 1). Among the many memorials and resolutions presented in the Commonalty just before its adjournment, was a resolution by Rosenquist which was practically a transcript of the Norwegian Dissenter's law 2).

The Riksdag closed without passing any resolution providing for greater religious liberty; however, as a result of the general demand for liberty, there were issued, on Oct. 23, 1860, two royal ordinances, one concerning "a change in regulations then in force concerning the responsibility of one who accepts and diffuses false doctrines," and the other concerning "Nonconformists and their exercise of religion." By the former, banishment, as a form of punishment for dissenters, was abolished; fine or imprisonment, however, was still to be the lot of him who diffused "false doctrines." By the latter, Swedish citizens, who confessed another faith than the Lutheran, were privileged to petition the king for the right of organizing separate churches, stating what were their creed and church polity. It further provided that any one over eighteen years of age, who apostatized from the Lutheran faith, and after due counsel and exhortation per-

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1) See reports of the respective Estates for these dates.

2) Rep. of Com., Nov. 9, 1860.

sisted in his course, should be permitted to leave the State Church and join any other denomination countenanced within the kingdom. A royal ordinance of Oct. 31, 1873, made it still easier to sever connection with the State Church, according to this, one was only required to state what church he desired to join, he was then left at liberty to join or not to join. This also provided, under certain conditions, for civil marriage.

On Nov. 28, 1879, a royal resolution was issued in which it was enacted that no one could sever his connection with the State Church unless he would either state his intention to join a denomination already permitted in the kingdom, or, together with others of like faith, to found a new church. But, on Nov. 7, 1884, a new royal resolution was issued by which the resolution of Nov. 28, 1879, was made to read as follows: "He who announces his resignation of membership in the State Church does not need actually to join any other denomination recognized by the State" 1).

Of the Methodists a large number have seceded from the State Church. Other dissenters have not, as a rule, availed themselves of this privilege. In 1868 the Baptist Church at

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1) Hildebrand's q. w., part 10, p. 12; Cornelius' "Text-book on Sw. Church Hist.", pp. 396, 87; The ordinances are given in full in "Svensk författnings-samling" for 1860, No. 45 & 46, and for 1873, No. 71. Cf. "The Law of Sweden," adopted 1734, with any edition of the same after 1860, Chap. 7, Par. 4, of the laws of inheritance. The ordinance of 1873 is found on pp. 793-97 of the 1910 edition of "The Law of Sweden."

Växhus sought the royal sanction for such a severance, but in 1891 they reorganized on their own initiative, and the members now hold membership of both the State Church and the Baptist Church. The reason for this lies in the fact that all who leave the State Church forfeit certain civil rights. As a consequence, a large majority of the Nonconformists in Sweden are members of two churches. This situation is, however, deplored by many of the leading men both in the State Church and among all other denominations 1).

During the years 1865-66 the Riksdag was reorganized. Representation was no longer based on class distinction and consequently from this time on, the four Estates were not recognized, but, instead, a Lower and an Upper Chamber composed the Riksdag; thus was abolished the time-honored political sway and influence of the clergy. This was virtually a step towards the separation of Church and State. The Riksdag of 1870 so changed the fundamental law that, with the exception of members of the council who, like the king, must profess the Lutheran faith, members of all Christian denominations and also the Jews may be appointed to all official positions other than clerical and those of instructors in theology and Christianity. Since then there seems to have been a striving

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1) Bergroth's q. w., part III, p. 14; Ekman's q. w., Vol. 3, pp. 2862, 2872, & 73; "Svensk författnings-samling" for 1868, No. 3.

for secularism pure and simple in all branches of the government and courts and in all public educational institutions 1).

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1) Cornelius' q. w., p. 387; Hildebrand's "Hist. of Sw.," Vol. V, part 10, section Karl XV, pp. 38-45 & 64; and Cf. Par. 26 of the "Regulations of Parliamentary Procedure" for 1866 & 1870; also Cf. paragraphs 2, 4, & 28 of the Constitution of 1866 with the same paragraphs of the Constitution for 1870. The "Regulations of Parliamentary Procedure" and the Constitutions are found in "Svensk författnings-samling" for the respective years.